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MEMOIRS

OF THE

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE LIFE

OF

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF

M. A. ARNAULT AND C. L. F. PANCKOUCKE.

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MEMOIRS

OF

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

CHAPTER I.

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BETWEEN the 12th and 15th of February, this year, the French army made its entrance into the kingdom of Naples: the Russians, who came to the assistance of the queen, were under General Lascy; —when, to aggravate the violation of the treaty concluded with Napoleon only two months before,

the court of the Two Sicilies confided the city of Naples to a garrison of eighteen hundred English Upon this the French ambassador took down the arms of France from the gates of his palace, and, demanding his passports, retired to Rome. But the Russians did not await the attack of the French, as an order arrived from the emperor Alexander for them to re-embark without delay, and to remain in the Ionian Islands till further orders.

Gaeta, added to its natural strength, was commanded by the prince of Hesse Philipstadt, an old soldier, a German by birth, and strongly attached to the Bourbons. The siege was consequently protracted a considerable time. The surrender of Gaeta, on the 17th of July, set at liberty sixteen thousand of the besieging army.

The zeal, real or pretended, with which the Neapolitans received the new king imposed upon them by Napoleon, soon began to cool in a very sensible degree. The principal places at court were given to the French; the imposts had not been lowered; arbitrary contributions were imposed; these, with the luxury of the new court, the affluence of Naples, and a crowd of French and Italians, who came there to mend their fortunes, were the causes of discontent. The Calabrians bore the French yoke with the greatest degree of impatience, and were evidently preparing for an insurrection. Accordingly, in a council held at Palermo, at which the English commandants by sea and land were present, a descent in Calabria was resolved upon.

On the 1st of July, 1806, a fleet from Palermo made sail towards Stromboli, and afterwards disembarked troops opposite St. Euphemia. These consisted of six thousand British, and three thousand

Neapolitans, who were to be joined by four thousand insurgents. This army was commanded by the English general Stuart. General Reynier left in Calabria by King Joseph to govern that province, hastened, on the first arrival of this intelligence, to collect all the disposable troops that could be spared. The division under his orders was composed of the first and twenty-third regiments of light infantry, the forty-second of the line, two battalions of the first Swiss regiment, the ninth of the horse chasseurs, and a battery of horse artillery. On the 3d of July, the French advanced guard was in presence of the Anglo-Neapolitan army in bivouac at the foot of the hill upon which St. Euphemia is built; its left was supported by this little town, and its right by the sea. The French division passed the night of the 3d of July in the woods of Fundaco del Fico.

General Stuart formed the order of battle in a parallel line with the shore; his right was supported by the mouth of the river l'Amato. General Reynier then gave orders to General Compere, who commanded the advanced guard, to cross the Amato under the protection of some companies of voltigeurs, who cleared the little wood and the bushes upon the right bank; but the numerous tiralleurs, that the enemy sent towards this point, repulsed the French voltigeurs before General Compere could form his brigade. The whole of the English line moving forward at this instant, they engaged in a cannonade and a warm discharge of musketry, which did considerable execution in the French brigade, still suffering by the disorder occasioned by a precipitate formation. In a few minutes they had from six to seven hundred men killed and

wounded. General Compere, rallying his troops, had an arm broken by a cannon ball. Unfortunately, the greatest part of the division was still at too great a distance to remedy this first check, and the retrograde movement of the advanced guard threw the rest of the troops passing the Amato into confusion. The twenty-third regiment of light infantry alone had the firmness to arrest the progress of the enemy, and cover the retreat of the division to Catanzaro, through the valley of the Amato. This affair, in the English annals, was called the battle of Maida.

The English, being arrested in their progress by the intrepidity of the twenty-third under Colonel Abbé, did not persist in following the French, because they thought their victory would be improved by the exasperation of the Calabrian insurgents. But the French had still a sufficient force to cope with the latter, though twelve thousand of them had blocked up General Reynier in Catanzaro for some time.

General Stuart, after embarking his wounded and prisoners, began his march to Maida on the 8th of July.

The forts of Scylla and Reggio were soon after surrendered to the English. Strongoli, having refused to furnish General Reynier with provisions, was carried by assault, and pillaged and burnt.

Amongst the troops under General Reynier were two Swiss battalions; from their red uniforms, the insurgents understood them to be English. After Reynier had arrived at Cassano, where he had formed an intrenched camp, these Swiss were one night sent out, and ordered to make a considerable detour for the purpose of deceiving the insur-

gents. Arriving before a village about day-break, a body of the former, seeing them proceed without making any show of hostility, and deceived by their red uniforms, made no doubt that they were English, that had been disembarked during the night, and, approaching them with shouts of joy, were received by a dreadful fire of musketry, and immediately charged with the bayonet, by which they lost nearly 1000 men; and the Swiss returned to the French camp with two white flags, and loaded with the spoils of the enemy.

Notwithstanding these successes, frequently attended with dreadful reprisals, the defeat of the insurgents in a great measure only seemed to call up more combatants.

During this time, the English thinking the French sufficiently engaged with the insurgents, General Stuart embarked for Sicily on the 5th of September. On the 16th of the same month, Sir Sidney Smith, mortified by his bad success against the Isle of Procida, set sail with the flotilla under his orders for Messina.

Such was the situation of the kingdom of Naples towards the end of 1806.

We have previously noticed the symptoms of hostility ready to break out between France and Prussia. Nothing but the irresolution of Frederick William retarded this event. The attractions that the possession of Hanover offered to this prince, seemed to have been the only cause of slackness in his preparations. The misunderstanding excited between the cabinets of London and Berlin, was evident in the public acts of the month of March, 1806, when the king of England declared by his minister, that he could not acquiesce in the cession

of his electoral estates: however, the Prussians still continued to occupy the fortress of Hameln on the 26th, and a few days after the king of Prussia published an edict, according to which, the shutting of his ports against the English was authorized in the same manner as had been practised whilst Hanover was occupied by the French.

The king of Sweden, immoveable in his affection for the English, and irritated by the proceedings of Frederick William, gave vent to his feelings in menaces and complaints; but did not wish to try the chances of war with a power so formidable as Prussia; he therefore concentrated in Pomerania that army which he intended should take part in the operations of the coalition lately dissolved by the treaty of Presburg, and only left some detachments in Lauenberg, which country his treaties with England obliged him to defend. In the beginning of April, the ports of Embden and East Friezeland were added to those that had been previously shut against the English. The civil occupation of Hanover was completed at the same time; the authorities being called upon to take an oath of fealty to the sovereign, whilst the Prussians assumed a hostile aspect towards the Swedes, as if they meant to compel them to evacuate Lauenberg. This ended in an open rupture, and the evacuation of Pomerania by the Swedes, after an action fought on the 27th of April, and embargoes mutually laid on the shipping of both these powers. Still the forbearance of England towards Prussia, and of Prussia towards England, led politicians to believe, that both powers were acting in concert to deceive Napoleon, and to give the king of Prussia time to put his army upon the most respectable footing.

Though it might have been expected that the generous treatment, which the emperor Alexander had received after the battle of Austerlitz, would have inspired him with pacific sentiments, the Russian army had scarcely got out of its critical situation in Moravia, scarcely had the Russian generals and the emperor's guards been sent home without being exchanged, when orders were given to the Russian troops to occupy the mouths of the Cattaro, upon the coasts of the ancient Venetian Albany, ceded by Austria to France, from whence the Russians were afterwards driven, as also out of Dalmatia. But to strengthen Napoleon against all these new combinations, Louis Bonaparte, as king of Holland, was called upon to act in concert with the new "Confederation of the Rhine," which detached almost all the German princes from the emperor of Germany, and placed them as tributaries and vassals under the power of Napoleon. This treaty of the Rhenish confederation was signed at Paris on July 12, 1806. About this time a treaty of peace, negotiated between the Russian counsellor of state, M. D'Oubril, and General Clarke on the part of France, was disowned by the emperor Alexander, on the ground of that minister's going beyond his instructions. Other negotiations between Lord Lauderdale and the French government shared a similar fate. Prussia, too, appeared most seriously inclined to make use of the weapons against France which she seemed to have been preparing against Sweden. Sweden was devoted to Russia, and Prussia was sold to England.

Notwithstanding the protestations that the Prussian government renewed almost daily through its minister at Paris, towards the middle of August

her preparations assumed such a decided character, that their real object could be no longer concealed. About the same time, Napoleon took possession of the fortress of Wesel, near the Rhine, which was one of the grievances alleged.

On the 21st of September, the emperor Napoleon wrote to the princes of the confederation of the Rhine, to furnish their contingent troops for his army, which was complied with, according to treaty. On the 25th, Napoleon quitted his imperial residence, to place himself at the head of his army, and arrived at Mayence on the 28th, and on the 1st of October he passed the Rhine. Whilst here, it seems he received the Prussian *ultimatum*, delivered by General Knobelsdorf, and transmitted to Napoleon from Paris. In this he was called upon to renounce the kingdoms of Holland and Italy, and threatened with the displeasure of Prussia, if his troops were not withdrawn from Germany, and made to cross the Rhine.

Napoleon could not finish reading the document that conveyed these demands, but threw it down with contempt. Alluding to the king of Prussia, he exclaimed, "Does he think himself in Champagne? Does he want to give us a new edition of his manifesto? What! does he pretend to mark out a route for our march back? Really, I pity Prussia. I feel for William. He is not aware what rhapsodies he is made to write. This is too ridiculous. Berthier, they wish to give us a rendezvous of honour for the 8th; a beauteous queen will be witness to the combat. Come, let us march on, and show our courtesy. We will not halt till we enter Saxony."

The emperor quitted Bamberg on the 8th of October, at three in the morning, and arrived on the same morning at Kronach. The Prussians occupied Schleitz, where General Tauenzien had six thousand Prussians and three thousand Saxons: on the 9th they were there charged and routed, and a thousand prisoners taken. After this success, the French were soon in possession of the whole course of the Saale. The duke of Brunswick had calculated upon coming up with the French army upon the Maine, occupying their wings by detached corps, and upon penetrating their centre before they could concentrate their forces. But whilst the duke of Brunswick made certain that the French would debouch by Kœnigshaften, it appeared their movements on his centre were merely a *ruse de guerre*, made to mislead him, and to prevent him from debouching by the forests of Thuringen, whilst they proceeded towards Cobourg and Memmingen, through woody and mountainous countries, where the Prussian cavalry would be sure to be crippled in their operations. As it was of the utmost importance to anticipate the French, the duke of Brunswick hurried to Kœnigshaften.

Napoleon marched on Schleitz with the first corps, sixty leagues from the presumed point of attack. The third corps remained quietly at Naumburg, in the rear of the duke: hostilities had been commenced only two days, when that prince, already uncovered on his left, found his communications with the Elbe in danger.

On the 10th of October, near Saalfeld, the division under the orders of General Suchett fell in with the Prussian advanced guard under Prince Hohenlohe, commanded by Prince Frederick Chris-

tian Louis of Prussia, charged with defending this post and the bridge over the Saale. A cannonade commenced, and was continued nearly two hours. A brigade of hussars, part of the French advanced guard, charged and overthrew the enemy's cavalry; then, advancing at a charging pace, they threw the Prussian infantry into disorder; these were partly driven into the marshes, and partly dispersed in the woods.

The duke of Brunswick's advanced guard, on arriving on the Maine, found no enemy! He retraced his steps in haste, and the duke of Saxe-Weimar and Prince Hohenlohe were called upon to move, whilst the army of reserve made a forced march. Some of these mistook their route, and others did not use sufficient despatch, whilst the duke, disconcerted by a system of movements so new to him, knew not what course to adopt. Seeing his left wing about to be turned, he hastily rallied his army of reserve, advancing upon Halle, and left Prince Hohenlohe at Capellendorf to mask the retrograde movement. The duke recovered his confidence. On the road to Jena he found not more than thirty chasseurs stragglers. He thought it was not easy to surprise a skilful manœuvrer like himself. Hohenlohe's corps were encamped behind the heights of Jena; their masses extended beyond Weimar, and as far as the eye could reach. Napoleon reconnoitred them on the evening of the 13th, and fixed upon the following day for the attack. In the night he issued orders for the movements of the different corps. "Davoust," he is reported to have said, "must march on Apolda, so as to fall on the rear of the enemy's army: he may take what route he may think most expedient. If Bernadotte be at

hand, he may support him." In the meanwhile the duke of Brunswick flattered himself that the French could not debouch; but the axes of their pioneers removed every obstacle, and during the night a rock was cut through, and a passage made for the French artillery.

The battle commenced on the right and left; the conflict was terrible. Davoust, in particular, was placed in a situation sufficient to try a man of the most determined courage and firmness. Bernadotte refused to support him. He paraded round Apolda, while 26,000 French troops were engaged with 60,000 picked men, commanded by the duke of Brunswick and the king of Prussia.

In fact, it appears from Napoleon's own Memoirs, that "the conduct of Bernadotte at Jena was such, that the emperor had signed the decree for bringing him before a council of war, and he would inevitably have been shot, so general was the indignation of the army against him. It was out of regard for his wife, that the emperor destroyed the order at the moment he was about to put it into the hands of the prince of Neufchatel. Bernadotte commanded the first corps, of about 18,000 men; he arrived at Naumburg, in the rear of Marshal Davoust, who commanded the third corps, of about 30,000, to defend the defile of Kosen, and the field of battle at Averstadt. Half Davoust's corps had already passed the Saale, when Bernadotte arrived, and offered to head the column, upon the foolish pretext that his corps was No. 1. Davoust, with reason, opposed this, representing that it would occasion the loss of valuable time, and would confuse the troops in a defile, which would be produc-

tive of much mischief. Bernadotte then raised his camp, and marched towards Dornburg: at break of day he passed the Saale there. Precisely at this time Davoust was attacked by the king of Prussia, at the head of 60,000 of his best troops. He then felt severely the loss of the corps under Bernadotte. At Dornburg this marshal had still an opportunity of retrieving his error, by falling upon the rear of the Prussian army; but he contented himself with parading his troops, without firing a shot: the generals, officers, and soldiers, evinced the bitterness of their indignation in loud accusations of treason."

However, the route of the Prussians was complete. At night the wreck of their army was pursued; some Saxon battalions were taken, and the French entered *pêle mêle* with them into Weimar.

The ardour of the troops in general on this important day was such, that some corps, which circumstances prevented from taking part in the engagement, loudly expressed their dissatisfaction. One of these traits sufficiently characterize the soldiers, and the emperor under whose eyes they fought. Early in the battle of Jena, whilst the French cavalry were anxiously expected, Napoleon, seeing his wings in a state of agitation, being threatened by the enemy's cavalry, set off at full gallop to direct the manœuvres, and change the front into squares. The infantry of the imperial guard seeing all the rest of the troops engaged, whilst the emperor left them in inaction, many voices were heard crying, *Forward!* "Who is that?" said the emperor, smartly, and presenting himself in the front of the battalions.—"This is some beardless young man, who wishes to anticipate

what I intend to do. Let him wait till he has commanded in thirty pitched battles, before he pretend to give me advice."

The emperor established his head-quarters at Weimar. The dutchess of Weimar, daughter of the landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, preserved the noble pride of the ancient Germans. When all the persons of her family saved themselves at Brunswick, where the unhappy issue of the battle of Jena was already known, she had the courage to shut herself up with her ladies of honour in her chateau at Weimar. The state apartments were prepared for Bonaparte. When he arrived at the castle, some days after, the dutchess, having quitted her apartment, placed herself at the head of the grand staircase, and received him with all suitable respect. "Who are you?" said he, drawing back.—"I am the dutchess of Weimar."—"I pity you," replied he; "I will crush your husband. Let me dine in my own apartments." Afterwards he passed hastily by her. The night was passed in disorder and tumult. The unhappy dutchess heard the distressing cries of her people, but could not assist them. However, early in the morning, she had the presence of mind to send one of her chamberlains to inquire after the health of his majesty, and to request an audience. This step, suitable to the ceremony of courts, put Napoleon in mind of his quality as emperor, and also, in that respect, of the duty due from him to a sovereign princess. He sent a polite answer, and invited himself to breakfast with the dutchess. Scarce had he entered the apartment, ere he began with his usual vivacity to question the dutchess: "How could your husband be such a fool as to make war

on me?"—"Your majesty would have despised him, if he had not;" was the noble answer of the princess.—"How so?"—The dutchess solemnly and gravely replied, "My husband has been in the service of the king of Prussia these thirty years, and certainly it was not a time for my husband with honour to quit him, at the moment he had so able and powerful an enemy as your majesty to contend with." This admirable reply, as full of dignity as address, made a deep impression on Bonaparte; his features relaxed, and he continued questioning in a milder manner. At length, Napoleon said, "Madam, you have saved your husband. You are the most respectable lady I ever knew." Afterwards, repeating his expressions of respect, he added, in an insolent manner, "I pardon him, but solely on your account; he himself is but an indifferent subject." The princess maed no reply: as a good mother she remembered she was surrounded by unhappy children, for whom it became her far better to intercede; she did so, and succeeded; for she obtained of the conqueror his promise to spare the inhabitants of her dutchy: and Napoleon acknowledged she was an amiable and sensible woman, and of dignified manners.

Napoleon confessed that, in the night before the battle of Jena, he had been exposed to the most imminent danger. He might have disappeared then, without any one clearly knowing his fate. He had approached the bivouacs of the Prussians in the dark, to reconnoitre them, having only a few officers about his person. The French army was almost every where on the alert, from the persuasion that the Prussians were strongly addicted to nocturnal attacks. Returning from this party, the

emperor was fired at by the first sentinel of his own camp, which proved a signal for the whole line; and Napoleon had no resource but to throw himself flat on his face till the mistake was discovered. His principal apprehension, however, was not realized; he feared that the Prussian line, which was very near him, would have acted in the same manner.

Whilst the French were following up their advantages, the Prussians were rallying their scattered forces at Magdeburg. The duke of Wirtemburg, one of their generals, had already taken a position at Halle, and Bernadotte was marching upon him. He attacked the Prussians with the bayonet, killing and routing all that dared to oppose him.

Arriving at Dessau, Napoleon treated the old duke and his son with much consideration. In the meanwhile the Prussians, flying towards Magdeburg, took refuge behind the intrenchments, where they were soon compelled to lay down their arms. The king himself narrowly escaped being taken. All the French corps were marching towards Berlin; but the honour of taking possession of that city, Napoleon had reserved for Davoust's corps, which had contributed so much to the victory at Jena. On the way to Potzdam, the troops were overtaken by such a violent storm, that Napoleon, though wrapped in his gray military great coat, was obliged to enter a house, where he was astonished to see a young female, a native of Egypt, who was much agitated at his presence, bestowing upon him the same religious veneration which he had been accustomed to receive from the Arabs. She was the widow of an officer in the army of

the East, and had a son, for whom Napoleon undertook to provide, and granted her a pension of 1200 francs. "This," said Napoleon, "was the first time I ever took shelter against a storm, and I felt a presentiment that a good action awaited me."

The court had fled with such precipitation from Potzdam, that nothing had been carried away. Even the sword of Frederick the Great, the belt, and the cordon of his orders, were left here. Napoleon, taking possession of these, said, "I prefer these trophies to all the king of Prussia's treasures. I will send them to my veterans who served in the campaign of Hanover. I will present them to the governor of the Hospital of the Invalids, who will preserve them as a testimony of the victories of the army, and the revenge it has taken for the disasters of Rosbach."

After having visited, with religious veneration, the vault where the remains of the Great Frederick were deposited, he found them in a coffin of cedar, covered with copper, without ornament, trophy, or any inscription that might recall the feats that immortalize the name of this royal warrior.

Envoys soon arrived at Berlin from all the courts of Germany, petitioning Napoleon to show favour to their respective princes; but he would not hear the name of the duke of Weimar mentioned, being as indignant against him as he was favourably disposed towards the dutchess, whom he styled his *cousin*—a distinction which was then of no small importance. The elector of Hesse, also, wished to treat; but Napoleon was so much offended with him, that he would not receive his envoy. "As to him," said he, "his reign is ended."

The results of the termination of the battle of Jena were many, and of much importance to Napoleon. The Oder was crossed without loss of time. Marshal Davoust's corps, having suffered the most in these movements, was ordered to occupy Naumburg, Freyburg, and the heights between these places, to give his troops a day's rest, upon the left bank of the Unstruth. It would be difficult to paint the terror into which the grand catastrophe at Jena had thrown both the soldiers and the inhabitants of the country. Nothing could place the general alarm in a stronger point of view, than the phrase inserted in the Berlin Gazette on the following day: "The royal army has been defeated at Awerstadt; but the king and his brothers are alive." In fact, after this disaster, no more hope remained for the Prussian government. Every place, the capital not excepted, had opened its gates to the victorious army; five days had in a manner decided the fate of the monarchy, founded and augmented by the sword, and lately so flourishing.

The king of Prussia, who for a short time had taken refuge at Magdeburg, escaped from the place, by breaking through the weak cordon with which it had been at first invested. Marshal Ney having completed the blockade, the Prussian officers, so arrogant at the commencement of the campaign, were now much changed. They loudly solicited for peace. Several generals, and especially Prince Hohenlohe, said to General Belliard, during an interview with the governor of Magdeburg, "What does your emperor want? Will he continually pursue us with the sword in our loins? We have not had a moment's repose since the bat-

tle of Jena." They had solicited a truce for three days to bury the dead; to which the emperor answered, "Let them think of the living; we will bury the dead; there is no need of a truce for that."

Napoleon quitted Potzdam for Berlin, where he made his public entrance on the 27th of October. The magnificent appearance of this capital on its first view, and about Charlottenburg, and passing through the gate of the same name, added splendour to the triumph of the French monarch. The public tranquillity was so well secured, that the inhabitants of Berlin could scarcely perceive that their city was occupied by foreign troops. Things went on in their ordinary way; the play-houses were open, as in the time of profound peace; and the French actors represented the exploits of the grand army; but, with that delicacy so peculiar to the nation, the subjects they adopted for the stage were not connected with the history or the affairs of Prussia.

In October, 1806, the eighth corps of the grand army marched towards Hanover and Hamburgh, to shut the rivers Elbe and Weser against the English. Hameln and Niemberg soon capitulated, which example was followed by Hamburgh and Bremen; and thus the French for a time became masters of all the Hanseatic Towns, and the rivers that run into the North Sea and the Baltic.

The war with Prussia in this quarter was now terminated. Of a hundred and fifty thousand men that had formed the enemy's grand army, seven eighths had been killed, wounded, or made prisoners. About twenty thousand men, infantry and cavalry, remained to King Frederick William, shut up in Glogau, Breslau, Brieg, Kœnigsberg, and other

places in Silesia and the dutchy of Warsaw. The king, the queen, the chanceries, and some generals, had sought an asylum in Kœnigsberg, the capital of Eastern Prussia, and this brought about the proposals for an armistice on the part of Prussia, which Russia would not permit her to conclude. It was whilst waiting for the ratification of this armistice on the part of Prussia, that Napoleon issued from his palace at Berlin that famous decree, that was to place the British islands in a state of blockade, and to serve as the basis of a continental system, the principal object of which was the humiliation of the naval power of England.

By way of recapitulating the extraordinary successes of this short campaign, it may be necessary to recollect, that the first affair between the French and the Prussians took place at Schleitz on the 9th of October; that of Saalfeld was on the 10th. The battle of Jena was fought on the 14th. Erfurt capitulated on the 16th. On the 17th, Napoleon was at Weimar; on the 18th, the prince of Wirtemburg was beaten at Halle; on the 24th, the emperor arrived at Potzdam; Spandau capitulated next day. In the affair of Zehdenick, on the 26th, six thousand Prussian cavalry were defeated by the grand duke of Berg; on the 28th, Prince Augustus and Prince Hohenlohe were defeated and made prisoners at Prentzlow. Stettin was taken on the 29th of October; and on the 1st of November, Marshal Mortier seized on Hesse Cassel. On the 7th, Lubeck was taken, and Blucher capitulated at Shwartow, with 21,000 men. Magdeburg surrendered on the 8th; Posen was taken by Marshal Davoust on the 10th; Hameln in Hanover capitulated on the 20th; and Niemburg four days after. Ham-

burgh, Bremen, &c. were occupied by French troops, preparatory to the issuing of the Berlin decree.

Napoleon left Berlin on the 25th of November, 1806, and arrived at Posen on the 27th, and the next day gave audience to several deputations from the Poles. The grand duke of Berg, with a part of the cavalry of the reserve, and the corps under Marshals Davoust, Lannes, and Augereau, entered Warsaw on the 28th and 29th. The Russian general Bennigsen, who occupied the city, evacuated it on hearing of the approach of the French; Prince Jerome, with a corps of Bavarians, was at Kalitch, and all the rest of the army at Posen. Previous to the entrance of the French into Warsaw, some smart skirmishing had taken place between the French and Russian advanced guards, and the former made a number of prisoners. The Russians retreated over the Vistula, and burnt the bridge after they had passed.

The unfortunate but brave Poles, on contemplating the French, fancied they beheld the legions of the great Sobieski returning from a military expedition; but Napoleon could not make them a positive promise of their restoration as a kingdom: his observation on the subject was, "that if the match should once be lighted, there was no knowing how long it might continue to burn." Napoleon arrived at Warsaw on the 19th, where he remained till the 23d. Several corps had been already pushed over the Vistula, the Narew, and the Bug; redoubts, bridges, and *têtes-de-pont*, had been formed, and the Russian detachments were repulsed wherever they presented themselves.

The battle of Pultusk, on the 26th of December, which General Bennigsen represented to his sove-

reign as a victory obtained over a part of the French army, and which was celebrated as such by the Russian clergy in all the churches, certainly was in effect one of the rudest shocks the French had sustained since their entrance into Poland, where their infantry felt the need of all their intrepidity to preserve their superiority over the Russians, who had never behaved better than on this occasion. The cavalry conducted themselves with equal bravery.

During these proceedings, Marshal Soult marched towards Makow, to cut off the retreat of the enemy's columns, but the wretchedness of the roads and the weather saved the Russian army from an entire defeat. They nevertheless lost eighty pieces of artillery, twelve hundred carriages, and from ten to twelve thousand men killed, wounded, and made prisoners. The rest retreated to Ostrolenka.

CHAPTER II.

Operations in Silesia—Napoleon's generous Treatment of the Saxon Princes—Swedish Pomerania invaded by Marshal Mortier—Line of Defence upon the Vistula—Battle of Mohringen—The Russians driven from Bergfried—Affairs at Deppen and Wattendorf—Defeat of the Prussian General Lestocq—Hoff carried—Battle of Eylau—Defeat of the Russians at Ostrolenka—Surrender of Schweidnitz and Glatz—Success of Mortier in Pomerania—Affair of Braunsberg—Investment of Colberg and Dantzick—Battle of Friedland—Meeting of the two Emperors upon the Raft—Arrival of the King and Queen of Prussia at Tilsit—Anecdotes—Treaties at Tilsit—Marshal Brune enters Swedish Pomerania—Napoleon's Entry into Frankfort—Arrival at Paris—The French invade Portugal.

Such had been the success of the French during the short campaigns of 1806, that, including all the Prussian garrisons in Silesia, in Dantzick, &c., not more than seventeen thousand men remained. Still, though hostilities had ceased in Poland at the end of 1806, they were continued in Silesia with activity. Plassenberg, near Culmbach upon the Maine, in Franconia, soon surrendered with a garrison of six hundred troops of the line, besides invalids. Glogau was the next place invested, and the conduct of the siege left to General Vandamme, which place capitulated with two thousand five hundred troops. General Vandamme was next ordered to invest Breslau; but, being much stronger than the French conceived it to be, the place was not surrendered till the 5th of January, 1807.

It should have been observed, that, eight days after the battle of Jena, Napoleon having gener-

ously sent home the Saxon prisoners serving under the Prussians, he granted a cessation of all hostilities against the elector Frederick Augustus, but placed French commandants at Dresden, and every other place of importance in Saxony, till the conclusion of a definitive peace, which was signed at Posen on the 11th of December, when the elector was admitted into the confederation of the Rhine and received the title of king, with the prospect of an increase of power. The ducal house of Saxony was not less fortunate, though every branch of it, excepting that of Gotha, had taken an active part in the war against France. In fact, the prince of Saxe-Coburg, the reigning duke, and hereditary prince of Saxe-Weimar, furnished their contingents of troops, and even served in the Prussian armies. Peace, however, was signed with these princes, and the dukes of Saxe-Memmingen and Hildburghausen, at Posen, and all the princes of the ducal household were admitted into the confederation. The emperor Napoleon was less generous to three other sovereign princes connected with Prussia. The old duke of Brunswick died in the beginning of November, 1806, in a miserable village near Altona, not far from the field of Rosbach, once so glorious for him: his death was occasioned less by his wounds, than vexation at seeing the Prussian monarchy overthrown in one day, and himself and his children deprived of their estates. George William, the elector of Hesse Cassel, and the prince of Nassau Fulda, were also deprived of their territories by the formal declaration of Napoleon.

After the loss of Breslau, the following were the only places that remained to the king of Prussia

Schweidnitz, Neiss, Glatz, Kosel, Silberberg, and Brieg, in Silesia; Graudentz, Kœnigsberg, Elbing, Stargardt, Colberg, Memel, Dantzick, and the fortress of Weichselmunde, upon the Vistula and the Baltic. Brieg surrendered on the 11th of January, and Schweidnitz was soon invested in form. Swedish Pomerania was invaded by Marshal Mortier, and Stralsund invested. The Swedish troops were driven from every place at which they made a stand; but General Victor, whom the emperor intended should cover the siege of Colberg, was made prisoner by a detachment of cavalry, but afterwards exchanged for General Blucher.

The French had established a line of defence upon and beyond the Vistula, extending from Warsaw to the Baltic Sea, and here they reposed almost the whole of the month of December. Towards the beginning of January, 1807, movements on both sides seemed to indicate more serious operations. It appeared the Russians had adopted a vast plan of defence. Their generals seemed to have regained confidence, on seeing Napoleon stop in the midst of the advantages he had gained, and imputed that to fear, which in him arose from motives of prudence. They could not imagine what other reason he could possibly have for going into cantonments upon the Vistula.

But upon the very first movement made by the Russian army, Napoleon, having partly anticipated their plan of attack, ordered Bernadotte to fall back, to encourage the enemy in the prosecution of his designs. This movement had the desired effect; and on the 25th of January, Bernadotte had orders to proceed with the division of General Drouet to Mohringen, where he fell in with the

Russians, attacking General Pacthod in his position. The action soon became general, and terminated gloriously. The loss of the Russians was considerable; that of the French was from two to three hundred killed and wounded. Bernadotte had orders to continue his retrograde movement to Thorn, to draw the Russians nearer the Vistula; but the officer who carried these orders being taken by the Cossacks, the Russian general avoided the snare laid for him.

Bergfried being attacked by Marshal Soult on the 3d of February, the Russians retired to Liebstadt. The next day there was another affair near the village of Deppen; and on the 5th the whole of the French army was re-united there. Upon the heights of Watterdorf, beyond Deppen, the grand duke of Berg found eight or nine thousand cavalry; he ordered several charges, and compelled the enemy to retreat. Marshal Ney overtook a Prussian column, under General Lestocq, endeavouring to effect a passage through Deppen. This general, who was completely routed, abandoned all his cannon and baggage, and two thousand prisoners fell into the hands of the victors. In consequence of these movements, the Russians lost a part of their line of communication, their depôts at Liebstadt and Guttstadt, and their magazines upon the Aller.

On the 6th of February, the rear guard of the Russian army was attacked near Hoff, and the village carried. The Russians continued their retreat; but on the 7th, at day-break, the French advanced-guard overtook them about a quarter of a league from Prussian Eylau, when a sanguinary engagement took place, especially with the Rus-

sians who had been stationed in the church and church-yard of this place. At ten at night both these positions were carried, the town of Eylau taken, and the streets covered with dead bodies.

At break of day, on the 8th, the Russian army, eighty thousand strong, appeared in columns within half cannon-shot of Eylau. A dreadful battle en sued, in which the French were victorious.

Nine thousand dead were counted, two thirds of whom were Russians. The French had nearly six thousand wounded. On the 9th, at day-break, the grand duke of Berg pursued the enemy for the space of ten leagues without seeing a single detachment of cavalry. His guards took a position within half a league of Kœnigsberg.

The Russians carried sixteen thousand wounded into Kœnigsberg; forty-five pieces of cannon remained with the French, and twelve thousand prisoners, including those made on the days preceding this great battle. The French army remained on the field of battle nine days, it being determined to give the troops some repose.

In the battles of Bergfried, Deppen, Hoff, and Eylau, the French took sixty-five pieces of cannon, sixteen standards, and killed, wounded, and made prisoners, 40,000 men.

On the 16th of February, the Russian general Essen was defeated at Ostrolenka by General Savary, commanding the fifth corps, and pursued for several leagues. This corps was now ordered to resume its winter-quarters. About the beginning of February, Schweidnitz surrendered. Glatz soon shared the same fate; and the emperor ordered the fortifications of all the captured places in Silesia to be demolished. In the meanwhile Marshal Mortier

was equally successful in Swedish Pomerania. The Russians that had retired behind the Pregel, encouraged by the apparent inactivity of Napoleon, repassed that river with a part of their troops, and formed a line which extended from Kœnigsberg to Seeburg, and pushed their advanced posts upon the Aller and the Passarge, within sight of the French. On the 25th of February, a Russian division, that had advanced to Braunsberg, was attacked by General Dupont, who defeated them, took sixteen pieces of cannon, and upwards of ten thousand prisoners; drove them from the place, and compelled them to repass the Passarge.

Much skirmishing occurred in the vicinity of this river, previous to the recommencement of the campaign in the beginning of April, during which time Colberg and Dantzick were completely invested: the latter city surrendered to Marshal Lefebvre on the 24th of May, and the fort of Weichselmunde, near the mouth of the Vistula, two days after. Marshal Lefebvre was on this occasion created duke of Dantzick. The capture of Dantzick was followed by the sanguinary affairs of Spanden, Lomitten, Deppen, Guttstadt, and Heilsberg.

At length, on the 14th of June, the decisive battle of Friedland only served to add to the trophies already obtained by the French. Fifteen thousand of the enemy's dead covered the field of battle; seventy pieces of cannon, a great number of caissons, many colours, and some thousands of prisoners, were the trophies of this memorable day: the Russian cavalry had suffered an immense loss; twenty-five generals, and a considerable number of officers, were killed, wounded, or made prisoners

Owing to the position of the French, by which they were in a great measure covered, their killed and wounded did not exceed six thousand; Napoleon on this occasion displayed that activity, and those great talents, that he had shown in the preceding campaigns. During the battle he was seen riding to and from the most exposed positions, and the troops frequently observed with apprehension the balls that passed near him, or fell spent at his feet.

After a succession of various military movements, on the 19th of June, at two in the afternoon, Napoleon entered Tilsit, where the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia had been some days. In the environs of this town the French saw Kalmucks for the first time. The arms of these Tartars, tributary to Russia, are arrows only, which they discharge flying, like the ancient Parthians; a circumstance which excited the laughter of the French soldiers, who did not conceive these Tartars to be very formidable adversaries.

In this state of affairs, the emperor Alexander again thought proper to throw himself upon the moderation and generosity of Napoleon, by soliciting an armistice, which was granted, and followed in the course of a few days by the celebrated meeting of the two emperors in a pavilion erected upon a raft, on the river Niemen, near Tilsit.

This meeting of the two emperors was followed by the landing of both in Tilsit, where it was agreed the courts of Russia and Prussia should take up their residence. Both the emperors, on horseback, talking familiarly, rode through the high street of Tilsit, where the French imperial guard, horse and foot, were drawn up, and when.

by the effect of that gallantry peculiar to the French, the cry of *Vive l'empereur Alexandre* resounded at the same time with that of *Vive l'empereur Napoleon !* The two monarchs afterwards dined together, the grand duke Constantine and Murat being the only persons present at this repast.

On the 27th, Napoleon returned the emperor Alexander's visit at his new residence. On the 28th, the king of Prussia passed the Niemen, to occupy his new dwelling at Tilsit. He was received by Napoleon with all the consideration that could be expected, and the French monarch returned his visit on the same day. The palaces of the three sovereigns were near each other; during their residence at Tilsit they had but one table, and that was furnished by Napoleon.

The queen of Prussia, as remarkable for the graces of her person as by the active part she had taken in the war, came to embellish, by her presence, this meeting of the three monarchs.

The emperor, referring, many years after, to this meeting at Tilsit, remarked, that, had the queen of Prussia arrived at the commencement of the negotiations, she might have exercised considerable influence with respect to the result. Happily, she arrived when they were sufficiently advanced to enable the emperor to decide upon their conclusion four-and-twenty hours afterwards. The king, it was thought, had prevented her early appearance, in consequence of a rising jealousy against a great personage, which was confidently stated, said the emperor, "not to have been destitute of some slight ground."

The moment of her arrival the emperor paid her a visit. "The queen of Prussia," said he, "had

been very beautiful, but she was beginning to lose some of the charms of her youth." The emperor declared, that the queen received him like Mademoiselle Duchinios in the character of Climene, thrown back into a grand attitude, calling aloud for *justice*. In one word, it was altogether a theatrical scene; the representation was truly tragic. He was unable to speak for an instant, and thought the only way of extricating himself was that of bringing back the business to the tone of regular comedy, which he attempted, by presenting her with a chair, and gently forcing her to be seated. She did not, however, discontinue the most pathetic expressions. "Prussia," she exclaimed, "had been blindfolded with respect to her power; she had dared to contend with a hero; to oppose herself to the destinies of France; to neglect his auspicious friendship; she was deservedly punished for it. The glory of the Great Frederick, his memory, and his inheritance, had puffed up the pride of Prussia, and had caused her ruin!" &c. &c. She solicited, supplicated, implored. Magdeburg, in particular, was the object of her efforts and wishes. The emperor kept his ground as well as he could. Fortunately, the husband made his appearance. The queen reproved, with an expressive look, the unseasonable interruption, and showed some pettishness. In fact, the king attempted to take part in the conversation, and spoiled the whole affair, and "I was," said the emperor, "set at liberty."

The emperor entertained the queen at dinner. Here, he said, she played off all her wit against him—she had a great deal; all her manners—which were very fascinating; all her coquetry—she was not without charms. Determined not to yield Na-

poleon found it necessary to keep a great command over himself, that he might continue exempt from any kind of engagement, and every expression which might be taken in a doubtful sense, and the more so, because he was carefully watched, and especially by Alexander.

An instant before dinner, Napoleon took a very beautiful rose from a flower-stand, which he presented to the queen. She at first expressed, by the motion of her hand, a kind of prepared refusal; but, suddenly recollecting herself, she said, "*Yes: but at least with Magdeburg.*"—The emperor replied, "But . . . . I shall observe to your majesty, that it is I who present, and you who are about to receive it."

The queen was seated at table between the two emperors, who rivalled each other in their attention. She was placed near Alexander's best ear: (with one he could scarcely hear.) She retired in the evening. The emperor Napoleon was now resolved to come to a point. He sent for M. de Talleyrand and Prince Kourakin; talked big to them; and, letting fly some hard words, observed, that, after all, a woman and a piece of gallantry ought not to alter a system conceived for the destiny of a great people, and that he insisted upon the immediate conclusion of the negotiations, and the signing of the treaty; which took place according to his order.

"Thus," said he, "the queen of Prussia's conversation advanced the treaty by a week or a fortnight. She was indignant when she heard that the treaty was signed; wept a great deal, and determined to see the emperor Napoleon no more. Alexander was himself obliged to prevail upon her

to accept a second invitation to dinner. She complained that Napoleon had broken his word. "He has made you no promise," was Alexander's observation to her; "if you can prove the contrary, I here pledge myself, as between man and man, to make him keep his promise, and he will do so, I am convinced."—"But he has given me to understand," said she, ... "No," replied Alexander, "and you have nothing to reproach him with."

Napoleon, who had no longer any occasion to be on his guard against her, redoubled his attentions. She played off, for a few moments, the airs of an offended coquette, and when the dinner was over, and she was about to retire, Napoleon presented his hand, and conducted her to the middle of the staircase, where he stopped. She squeezed his hand, and said with a kind of tenderness, "Is it possible, that, after having had the honour of being so near to the hero of the century, and of history, he will not leave me the power and satisfaction of being enabled to assure him, that he has attached me to him for life?"—"Madam," replied the emperor, in a serious tone, "I am to be pitied; it is the result of my unhappy stars."—He then took leave of her. When she reached her carriage, she threw herself into it in tears; sent for Duroc, whom she highly esteemed, renewed all her complaints to him, and said, pointing to the palace, "There is a place in which I have been cruelly deceived."

"The queen of Prussia," said the emperor, "was unquestionably gifted with many happy resources; she possessed a great deal of information, and had many excellent capabilities. It was she who really reigned for more than fifteen years."

Napoleon reproached himself with a real fault, in allowing the king of Prussia's presence at Tilsit. His first determination was to prevent his coming. He would then have been less bound to show any attention to his interests. He might have kept Silesia, he might have aggrandized Saxony with it, and have probably reserved for himself another kind of destiny. He further remarked, "I learn that the politicians of the present day find great fault with my treaty of Tilsit; they have discovered that I had, by that means, placed Europe at the mercy of the Russians; but if I had succeeded at Moscow, and it is now known how very near I was, they would no doubt have admired us for having, on the contrary, by that treaty, placed the Russians at the mercy of Europe. I entertained great designs with respect to the Germans. . . . But I failed, and therefore I was wrong. This is according to every rule of justice."

Almost every day, at Tilsit, the two emperors and the king rode out on horseback together; "but," said Napoleon, "the latter was always awkward and unlucky." The Prussians felt it very visibly. Napoleon was always between the two sovereigns; but either the king fell behind, or jostled and incommoded Napoleon. He showed the same awkwardness on his return: the two emperors dismounted in an instant, and took each other by the hand, to go up stairs together. But as the honours were done by Napoleon, he could not enter without first seeing the king pass. It was sometimes necessary to wait a long time, and, as the weather was often rainy, it happened that the two emperors got wet on the king's account, to the great dissatisfaction of all the spectators.

"This awkwardness," said the emperor, "was the more glaring, as Alexander is in possession of all the graces, and equal, in elegance of manners, to the most polished and amiable ornaments of our Parisian drawing-rooms. The latter was at times so tired of his companion, who seemed lost in his own sorrows, or in some other cause, that we mutually agreed on breaking up our common meeting, to get rid of him. We separated immediately after dinner, under the pretence of some particular business; but Alexander and I met shortly afterwards, to take tea with one another, and we then continued in conversation until midnight, and even beyond it."

Alexander and Napoleon met again some time after at Erfurt, and exchanged the most striking testimonies of affection. Alexander expressed, with earnestness, the sentiments of tender friendship and real admiration which he entertained for Napoleon. They passed some days together in the enjoyment of the charms of perfect intimacy, and of the most familiar communications of private life. "We were," said the emperor, "two young men of quality, who, in their common pleasures, had no secret from each other."

Peace, so anxiously desired, was concluded on the 9th of July. There were two separate treaties; one between France and Russia, and the other with Prussia. It was natural that Frederick William, who had provoked the war, should pay the whole expense. A part of the new kingdom of Westphalia, by virtue of these treaties, was given to Prince Jerome, brother of Napoleon; the dutchy of Warsaw was ceded to the ancient elector, Frederick Augustus, then king of Saxony; the city of

Dantzick with its territory was taken from the Prussian monarchy. Russia, by the special grace of Napoleon, gained a portion of territory upon the borders of the Bug and the Narew, and was thus aggrandized at the expense of that sovereign, in whose animosity against France she had participated.

Besides these cessions of territory, the king of Prussia had to pay such enormous contributions, that his finances were exhausted; and his provinces, in consequence of their long occupation by the French troops, were in a deplorable situation. Alexander and Frederick William solemnly acknowledged the new kings of Naples, Holland, and Westphalia.

The king of Sweden having renewed his hostility, the whole of Swedish Pomerania, Stralsund, and the island of Rugen, were soon in the power of the French under Marshal Brune.

The emperor Napoleon quitted Tilsit about the middle of July for Warsaw, and went from thence to Dresden. On the 24th, he made his triumphal entry into Frankfort, the capital of the states of the prince primate of the confederation of the Rhine; and on the 27th, at five in the morning, he was upon his return to his palace at St. Cloud. On the following day, at eleven, he received in succession the congratulations of the senate, the tribunate, and the legislative corps, the clergy of Paris, and other bodies.

On the 23d of August, 1807, the marriage of Prince Jerome, the new king of Westphalia, with the Princess Catherine of Wirtemburg, was celebrated.

About the beginning of August, French troops were collected at Bayonne, to compel the Portuguese to shut their ports against the English; and in the middle of October, they were on their march under General Junot.

The prince of the Brazils, his family, his court, and his ministers, had all embarked from Lisbon for South America on the 28th in the morning. On the 29th, General Junot entered Lisbon at eight o'clock. The grenadiers and voltigeurs were so fatigued with their previous marches, that they could not regulate their pace by the sound of the drum, whilst passing through the streets of this immense city, which at that time contained a population of three hundred thousand souls, and fourteen thousand regular troops.

On the 15th of December, the French army had happily recovered from its fatigues, and general measures had been adopted for the common safety. The French colours were ordered by General Junot to be hoisted upon the forts, the castle of Belem, and the principal batteries at Lisbon, in the room of the Portuguese. This event, so unexpected by the people of that city, excited a sensation so much the more lively, as, according to popular prejudice, the national flag was looked upon as a gift from the Son of God, the Redeemer of man.

CHAPTER III.

Reflections upon the Decline of Napoleon's military Fortune—Situation of Spain—Intrigues of Don M. Godoy—Ferdinand, Charles IV. and his Family inveigled to Bayonne—Proclamation to the Spanish Nation—Battle of Baylen—New Preparations for the War—Napoleon arrives at Burgos—The Spanish Armies defeated at Espinosa, &c.—Attack of the Somo Sierra—Arrival of the French Army near Madrid—Madrid surrendered—Proclamation by Napoleon to the Spaniards.

We are now arrived at an epoch in the life of Napoleon, from which we may fairly date the decline of his military fortune: this was the unjust war with Spain. This country, it must be allowed, was heartily tired of its alliance with France, resulting from the treaty concluded at Fontainebleau on the 26th of October, 1807. Its navy was almost annihilated; its ports were shut by the English: besides these inconveniences, the Spanish government had to pay an annual subsidy of six millions to Napoleon, during the war, in lieu of some other engagements stipulated by that treaty. When Prussia, excited by England, and supported by Russia, declared war against France, Godoy, the Spanish minister and favourite, not ignorant of the secret inclinations of Austria, hoped to see all Europe again joined in a coalition against France, and almost persuaded himself that he already saw the approaching ruin of the man, to whose car he had attached himself during his prosperity. This minister, then wishing in secret to join the cause that he expected would triumph, addressed a vehement proclamation to the Spaniards, in the name of

his sovereign, which failed in its effect, precisely because it had been dictated by Godoy.

Napoleon was informed of this act of imprudence whilst on the field of battle at Jena, about sunset on the 14th of October, 1806; but did not then seem to think it of any importance. Perhaps he was not sorry that Godoy, the favourite, had furnished him with a pretext, sooner or later, for depriving the Bourbons of the Spanish crown, as he had already acted in this manner by the king of Naples.

This Spanish proclamation, published on the 3d of October, 1806, began to circulate in Spain just after the arrival of the news of the battle of Jena. Godoy then felt the weight of his imprudence, and thought to repair his fault, by sending an ambassador extraordinary to felicitate Napoleon upon his new triumph. Being questioned upon the object of his proclamation, Godoy answered, that the apprehension of an immediate attack on the coasts of Spain by the emperor of Morocco, seconded by the English, had excited this appeal, and the extraordinary armaments that were to follow; but Napoleon could not be induced to listen a moment to an excuse so ridiculous.

A decided misunderstanding had long existed between Godoy and the heir presumptive of the Spanish crown; by some attributed to the indignation that had been excited in the mind of young Ferdinand by the scandalous elevation of a favourite without talents or virtue, and the overbearing ascendency which he exercised over the king and queen, not to mention the partiality he had shown for France. Charles IV. at length becoming seriously indisposed, a rumour was spread that Godoy

had obtained a promise from him to be the regent of the kingdom, in case of Charles's demise, from whence the malignity of his enemies inferred the probability of the assassination of young Ferdinand, who, being alarmed, wrote a letter with his own hand, on the 11th of October, to Napoleon, requesting to be married to a princess of his family, without acquainting the king of that correspondence. This was afterwards made use of by Godoy to the prejudice of the prince, who, it seems, would certainly have fallen a victim to the intrigues of Godoy and his party, had not Napoleon, by his address, and for the furtherance of his own views on the country, got the king, queen, and prince, and the whole party, into his power at Bayonne. On the 30th of April, the king and the queen mother arrived at that place. Godoy had preceded them four days, having been released from his confinement in the chateau of Villa Viciosa, and conducted to Bayonne by one of the aide-de-camp of Murat.

Ferdinand, when at Bayonne, being anxious to know the intentions of Napoleon with regard to him, the emperor, on the second audience that he gave him, declared that Charles IV. having abdicated in consequence of a popular commotion at Aranjuez, and this monarch having protested against that act, obtained from him by violence, the French sovereign could not acknowledge its validity, nor bestow upon the prince of the Asturias an illegal title. The Spaniards, who accompanied the prince, were struck with consternation at this declaration, and the prince himself deeply regretted that he had not taken the advice of his friends at Burgos, not to put himself into the hands of an enemy to the

house of Bourbon. But the dejection of the prince and his friends was extreme, when, a few days after, Napoleon gave him to understand, "that it was not convenient for him to suffer the Bourbons to reign any longer in Spain," and offered to Ferdinand the throne of Etruria in Italy, in exchange for that which he had lost. This offer he rejected, declaring that he never would renounce his right to the crown of Spain, and that he would have all or nothing. In the meanwhile, though Charles himself had been received by Napoleon as the reigning monarch, it was not long before he fell into the snares that had been laid for him; a treaty, which he made with Napoleon on the 6th of May, 1808, contained his renunciation of the throne of Spain: this was agreed to by Ferdinand and the infant Don Carlos, Charles IV. &c. The king, the queen his spouse, Don Manuel Godoy, and the rest of the family, were sent to the chateau of Compeigne. Ferdinand and his brother Don Carlos had their residence assigned them at the chateau of Valencay, an estate belonging to Prince Talleyrand. This chateau is in one of the finest situations in France, in the midst of an extensive forest. This, in 1808, was the residence of Ferdinand VII.: his brother and his uncle were there with him; they were without any guard; he had all his officers and servants, and received what visits he pleased; he was at liberty to make excursions of several leagues, either for the purpose of hunting or in his carriage. Besides the 72,000 francs, which the French treasury annually paid as the rent of Valencay, Ferdinand received for his maintenance 1,500,000 francs per annum. He wrote every month to Napoleon, who answered his letters. On the 15th of August,

and on the empress's birth-day, he never failed to illuminate the chateau and park of Valencay, and to distribute alms. He asked, several times, Napoleon's leave to go to Paris, which was successively adjourned: he solicited him to adopt him as his son, and marry him to a French princess. He had the enjoyment of a very fine library, often received visits from the neighbouring gentry, and from the merchants of Paris, who were eager to carry novelties to him. He long had a theatre and a company of comedians; but his confessors inspired him with scruples of conscience upon the propriety of this diversion, and he dismissed the troop.

The junta of Spain, which was only a deliberative body, and a kind of privy council to the new government, was every moment in expectation of the changes that were to follow the new order of things. Murat did not delay laying before them the two treaties signed by King Charles and Prince Ferdinand, as well as a proclamation dated Bourdeaux, and addressed to the nation. In this document, the infants Don Antonio and Don Carlos asserted, on the part of the Spaniards, the necessity and utility of uniting their interests to those of France.

The contents of this paper evidently prove that it was written by Napoleon himself, but published under the pretext of its being the production of the Spanish princes. The emperor, on his side, addressed another proclamation, of a conciliating character, to the Spanish nation.

After having received various communications from Napoleon, several members of the junta proposed to the grand duke of Berg and the ambassador Laforest, to give the nation the free exercise of

its rights, in convoking the cortes; but such a proposal could not possibly be received by these agents of Napoleon; they were too well acquainted with the intentions of their master, even to venture to lay it before him. However, the same junta was very shortly after induced to publish their acceptation of Joseph Bonaparte, elder brother of Napoleon, as their sovereign; his promotion to the throne of Spain and the Indies having been announced in an imperial decree of the 5th of June, 1808.

Such were the events preparatory to a war that eventually led to the final overthrow of its author and his abettors, in consequence of the landing in Portugal by the English, and the astonishing success of Sir Arthur Wellesley and his successors.

The French army, defeated at Caldos, Roleia, and Vimeira, was obliged to capitulate on the 30th of August, according to the convention of Cintra. General Junot was more fortunate than Dupont at Baylen, in June, 1808. The insurrection against the French in Spain had become general. War was declared against France by the supreme junta of Seville, on the 6th of June; the French admiral Rossily, who was in the harbour of Cadiz with five men of war, capitulated on the 14th. Castanos, the Spanish general, was nominated general-in-chief of all the troops in Andalusia; and General Caro obtained the same rank in the kingdom of Valencia, where he was attacked by Marshal Moncey at the head of 15,000 old soldiers. The defence was so skilful and so valorous, that the French were obliged to retreat towards Madrid on the 28th of June. General Blake was routed on the 14th of July, at Medina del rio Secco, by Marshal Bessieres; but that defeat was amply revenged

by the triumph of Castanos, an event in the life of Napoleon, which caused him the most extreme mortification.

The battle of Baylen proved one of the first and most fatal reverses of the French; here, after a desperate engagement on the 23d of July, upwards of eighteen thousand men, under General Dupont, surrendered to the Spaniards, defiled before the Spanish army with the honours of war, and deposited their arms in the manner agreed on by both parties.

The catastrophe of Baylen, the valiant defence of Saragossa, and the necessity the French army was under, of taking a defensive position upon the right bank of the Ebro, had in some measure opened the eyes of Napoleon, as to the character of the nation upon whom he wished to impose the yoke of his power. He acknowledged, too late, that he had imprudently entered into the war, and committed a great fault in having commenced it with forces too few in number, and too widely scattered. Eighty thousand of his old troops, the instruments of his glory and success in Italy, Germany, and Poland, were consequently ordered to march towards the Pyrenees; the contingents of the confederation of the Rhine were also put in motion, and his senate sanctioned the levy of a hundred and sixty thousand conscripts.

Determined to march at the head of this new army, Napoleon wished beforehand to fathom the inclinations of the courts of Austria and Russia, in order that no obstacles might be thrown in his way; he therefore procured an interview with the emperor Alexander at Erfurt, where the princes of the Rhenish confederation were present. On the 3d

of November, 1808, he was at the castle of Marrac, near Bayonne, and here he gave the first orders for the actual recommencement of hostilities upon the borders of the Ebro.

After a variety of military movements, Napoleon fixed his head-quarters at Burgos, and sent out detachments in several directions in pursuit of the enemy. The battle of Espinosa, fought on the 10th and 11th of November, was extremely sanguinary. In this and other battles which followed, two of the principal Spanish armies were destroyed, viz. those of Estremadura and Gallicia. This success determined the emperor to march rapidly upon Madrid, whilst his armies on the right and left completed the dispersion of the vanquished troops, and prevented their junction with the corps that covered the capital.

On the 29th of November, Napoleon was at Bozeguillas; on the 30th, at day-break, the duke of Belluno, Marshal Victor, arrived near the strong position of Somo Sierra, defended by thirteen thousand men under General San Juan.

Another bloody battle here ensued, and the Spanish corps were totally dispersed. They lost ten stands of colours, all their artillery and baggage, thirty caissons, the regimental chests, a great number killed, wounded, and prisoners, including several colonels and other superior officers.

On the first of December, the whole of Marshal Ney's corps formed a junction with the army of the centre, and the head-quarters were fixed at the village of Sant Augustino on the same day. On the second, the emperor, with the cavalry of his guard, Maubourg's and Lahoussaie's dragoons, moved towards the heights from which Madrid may

be seen, approaching it by the high road from Castille. This city was in a state of fermentation in the highest degree. An aid-de-camp, sent by Marshal Bessieres to summon the authorities to open the gates, narrowly escaped with his life, from the exasperation of the populace. The military junta returned for answer, that the populace would rather bury themselves under the ruins of the place than submit. It is sufficient to add, that this city could not resist the fire of thirty pieces of cannon, that soon made a breach in the edifice called the Retiro, which, with other places, was immediately inundated by French troops. Consternation now became general, and on the 4th of December, at six in the morning, General Morla and Don Fernando de la Vera went to the head-quarters of the prince of Neufchatel, to announce that the peaceable inhabitants would gratefully accept the generous proposals of the emperor. General Belliard, being appointed governor of Madrid, entered the capital about ten o'clock, with a body of troops.

The emperor, not choosing to enter Madrid, encamped with his guards upon the heights of Chamartin, a mile from the city, where he continued to take measures calculated to ensure the subjugation of the whole country. The occupation of the Spanish capital did not produce the submission expected in the provinces.

After the French troops had entered Madrid, Napoleon lost no time in issuing a proclamation, in which he promised the Spanish nation every thing that the benignity of his disposition could bestow, provided they quietly received his brother, and, like loyal subjects, swore fealty and allegiance to

him: while, on the other hand, he denounced the severest vengeance if they continued contumacious. In an address, which the corregidor and magistrates of Madrid presented to him on the 9th of December, the inhabitants are made to thank him for his clemency, and to solicit the favour of seeing King Joseph at Madrid.

CHAPTER IV.

Retreat of the English Army—Napoleon's Arrival at Astorga—Manœuvres in the Environs of Lugo—Battle of Corunna—Death of Sir John Moore—Surrender of Roses and Saragossa—Napoleon's Return to France—War between France and Austria—Battles of Abensberg, Landshut, and Echmuhl—Attack of Ratisbon—Combat of Ebersberg—Surrender of Vienna—Battle of Essling—Interesting Interview between Bonaparte and Marshal Lannes, when mortally wounded—Operations of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Ragusa.

Sir John Moore having effected a junction with the corps of Sir David Baird, near Benavente, on the 20th of December, 1808, Napoleon quitted his head-quarters at Chamartin on the 22d, and advanced with his guard, the corps of Marshal Ney, and the cavalry of Marshal Bessieres, in the direction of Valladolid. On the 25th, the emperor's head-quarters were at Tordesilas. Sir John Moore was on his march through Villada, towards Carrion, with the intention of attacking the French, when he learned that Marshal Soult was himself marching on his right towards Leon and Astorga, and that another corps, under the emperor in person, had arrived by forced marches at Valladolid. Perceiving the danger of his position, the English general immediately ordered his troops to fall back upon Benavente, upon the borders of the Esla, at which place they were collected on the 29th of December After having broken the bridges upon the Orbigo, the English columns pursued their way to Villafranca. On the 1st of January, 1809, the emperor arrived at Astorga; he ordered Marshal Soult to continue the pursuit of the enemy.

The British army had overrun the space of fifty-five leagues between Villafranca and Lugo, where it arrived on the 5th, at night, in forty-eight hours; but, to make this effort, it was necessary to abandon a part of their treasure, cannon, baggage, and ammunition. On the same day that the English entered Lugo, the French arrived at Ferriera, and there overtook a rear-guard belonging to the enemy. Marshal Soult, supposing that the English general intended to make a stand at Lugo, thought proper to reunite his columns before he commenced a decisive attack.

On the 9th, at four in the morning, the French army was under arms; but the English had taken the precaution to light large fires, whilst the noise of a continued movement seemed to indicate that they were preparing for battle. Day, however, unveiled the truth. The main body of the English had withdrawn from Lugo at nine o'clock on the preceding night, so that on the next day they had gained ten leagues in advance of Marshal Soult. After sustaining unheard-of fatigues, the English advanced guard could not suppress their shouts of exultation on seeing the walls of Corunna, on the 11th of January, at which place, in the course of the afternoon, all the troops, to the number of fifteen thousand, were collected. From three to four thousand light troops, detached by Sir John Moore from Astorga towards Orensee, were not pursued, and reached Vigo in safety.

The English, in this disastrous retreat, lost between three and four thousand men, in consequence of hunger and fatigue. The cavalry was dismounted, and nearly three thousand horses died, or were killed by their riders.

It is acknowledged, that the excellent dispositions made by Sir John Moore to prevent any surprise on the part of the French, and the firmness of the British in the battle of Corunna on the 16th, procured him leisure to embark his troops from that port with little or no molestation, though it cost the life of their general, who, Napoleon himself acknowledged, was a "brave soldier, an excellent officer, and a man of talent: he died gloriously: he died like a soldier."

The English fleet having disappeared, Marshal Soult summoned the place, still garrisoned by two Spanish regiments under General Alzedo, who capitulated on the 20th.

Ferrol was the next place that opened its gates to the French; and the occupation of Vigo, soon after, completed the conquest of Gallicia. In Catalonia, Roses opened its gates to the French on the 6th of December, 1808. Barcelona, blockaded by General Reding, was liberated by the defeat of the Spaniards. Saragossa, the capital of Aragon, surrendered on the 21st of February, after the most heroic defence under General Palafox. But this success, though very brilliant on the part of the French, was not sufficiently decisive to induce the Spanish nation to submit to their new king, Joseph.

At the commencement of 1809, a warlike monarch, surrounded with all the charms of victory, and the paraphernalia of invincible power, was at the head of the French armies in Spain. In four pitched battles he destroyed all the forces that a nation risen in a mass could oppose against him. At the first report of Napoleon's approach, the English army hastened to avoid an engagement.

Under these circumstances, and whilst a great number of Spaniards were already persuaded that the revolution effected at Bayonne, and the invasion of the country, might eventually lead to the enjoyment of rational liberty, Austria suddenly interfered with menaces of war, and Napoleon was forced to turn his attention to the defence of the territory of his allies in Germany. He then traversed Spain with the rapidity of lightning, and flew to the spot where new dangers and new triumphs awaited him. Napoleon took with him his guard, that imposing reserve of his army. He left behind him a feeble king, equally as incapable of keeping, as of obtaining a conquest; and an army distributed over an immense space of territory, weakened by endemic diseases, reduced by partial combats, and without re-enforcements from the interior of the empire. During the whole of the German campaign of 1809, the French in Spain were merely able to maintain themselves in the positions which they occupied soon after Napoleon's departure. The results of the war here, after he ceased to take a part in it, decidedly prove that it was not in the power of his lieutenants to complete the subjugation of that country. The absence of the supreme director paralyzed all their efforts, and even rendered their advantages short-lived and illusory. There was no longer any agreement amongst them; each of them endeavoured to carry on the war upon his own foundation; and none of them was sufficiently disinterested to make any sacrifice in favour of another.

Scarcely had Napoleon repassed the Pyrenees, when the British cabinet, redoubling their solicitations to the court of Vienna, insisted that the mo-

ment was arrived for avenging the humiliation of former campaigns, and for disengaging itself from the shameful stipulations of the treaty of Presburg. Hostile preparations were then renewed with more vigour than ever. A war, at this period, with Austria, was so contrary to the views of Napoleon, that he used every possible means of conciliation to avoid it, and even proposed to Francis II. the mediation of Russia; but, following the advice of the British cabinet, this overture was rejected.

In the month of February, 1809, the disposable forces of the emperor of Austria amounted to 400,000 men; whilst, for opening the campaign in Germany, Napoleon could not reckon upon more than 200,000, including the troops of the confederation of the Rhine. The courts of Paris and Vienna had continued to exchange illusory notes till the end of March; but, on the 6th of April, a proclamation from the archduke Charles, appointed generalissimo of the Austrian armies, announcing war with France, put an end to all uncertainty.

On the 9th of April, the archduke Charles addressed the following note to the general-in-chief of the French army at Munich: "According to the declaration of his majesty the emperor of Austria, I have to inform M. le General-in-chief, that I have orders to advance with the troops under my command, and to treat all those who make resistance as enemies." On the same day, the Austrian advanced guard passed the Inn, and on the following, hostilities commenced, whilst the bulk of the army followed the movement of the advanced guard. On the 10th of April, correspondent operations took place at all points.

The emperor Napoleon having been informed at Paris, on the evening of the 12th, of the commencement of hostilities in Germany, this was the signal for his departure. On the 16th, he arrived at Dillingen on the Danube, where he met the king of Bavaria, who had retired from Munich. Napoleon promised Maximilian to restore him to his capital in fifteen days. On the 17th, his headquarters were at Donawerth, where he employed himself in giving such orders as circumstances had rendered necessary.

General Oudinot arrived at Pfaffenhoffen, where he met three or four thousand Austrians, whom he attacked, and took three hundred prisoners. The duke of Rivoli arrived next day at Pfaffenhoffen. The same day, the duke of Auerstadt left Ratisbon to advance to Neustadt, and to draw near to Ingoldstadt. It was evident, then, that Napoleon's plan was to out-manœuvre the enemy, who had passed through Landshut.

The combat of Tann took place on the 19th. At Pressing, Napoleon gained a battle most glorious to the French arms. In the battle of Abensberg, which occurred on the 20th, the emperor was resolved to destroy the corps of the archduke Louis and General Keller, amounting to sixty thousand men. Napoleon determined to fight that day at the head of the Bavarians and Wirtemburgers. He ordered their officers to form a circle, and addressed them in a long speech, translated to them in German by the prince royal of Bavaria. He then gave the signal for battle, and adapted manœuvres to the particular character of the troops. The attack of the French was successful at all points, and the enemy beat a retreat after fighting about an hour. Eight

standards, twelve pieces of cannon, and eighteen thousand prisoners, were the result of this affair, which cost the French but few men.

In retreating through Landshut the Austrians sustained great losses. The arrival of General Oudinot at the head of his whole corps by way of Mandelstadt, and the information received by the Austrian General Hiller, that Massena had passed the Iser at Mosburg, and was advancing to join Napoleon, hastened the further retreat of the enemy upon the Inn, through Neumark and Alt Oetting, still pursued by Marshal Bessieres; and thus the operations of two remarkable days effected the separation of the grand Austrian army in two parts; and thus the retreat of General Hiller left the centre of the archduke Charles's army completely uncovered.

During these proceedings, the archduke Charles had formed a junction with the Bohemian army under Kollowrath, and obtained some partial success at Ratisbon. This event made an impression upon the emperor, and he swore that in twenty-four hours Austrian blood should flow in Ratisbon, to avenge the insult that had been offered to his arms. There was no time to be lost; he began his march from Landshut with several divisions under him. At two o'clock in the afternoon, they arrived opposite to Echmuhl, where four corps of the Austrian army, consisting of one hundred and ten thousand men, had taken a position under the archduke Charles. One of the most beautiful sights which war could produce then presented itself: one hundred and ten thousand men were attacked on all points, turned on their left, and successively driven from all their positions. The Austrians were com-

pletely routed. All their wounded, the greater part of their artillery, and twenty thousand prisoners, fell into the hands of the victors.

On the 23d, at day-break, the French army advanced upon Ratisbon. Eight thousand Austrians having been cut in pieces, the enemy precipitately repassed the Danube. Having no time to destroy the bridge, the French passed over with them to the left bank.

At the battle of Abensberg the emperor beat separately the two corps of the archduke Louis and General Keller; at the battle of Landshut he took the centre of their communications, and the general depôt of their magazines and artillery; finally, at the battle of Echmuhl, the three corps of Hohenzollern, Rosemberg and Lichtenstein, were defeated.

On the 27th of April, the emperor Napoleon had his head-quarters at Muhldorf.

The duke of Dantzick, after having accompanied King Maximilian to Munich, had orders to enter the Tyrol with the whole of his force; to drive the Austrians out of that country, and thus secure the rear of the grand army against any attempts from this quarter.

On the 27th of April, the Marshals Lannes, Bessieres, and Massena, began to advance beyond the Inn. On the 30th, the emperor arrived at Burghausen with his guard. From the 30th of April till the 2d of May, the French army continued its progressive march. General Oudinot seized upon Ried. The dukes of Montebello and Istria occupied Wels. On the right, Marshal Lefebvre directed the march of a column upon Kuffstein, and another upon Rastadt upon the Ems, thus occupy-

ing two routes leading into Italy across the Tyrol. A third column, pursuing the retreat of the Austrian general Jellachich towards Styria, came up with the enemy at Colling, and occasioned him some loss. On the left, the duke of Rivoli pursued the route from Scharding to Efferden.

On the 3d of May, the advanced guard of the French army, under Massena, arrived at Lintz. On the same day, the emperor's head-quarters were at Lambach. Near Ebersberg, the enemy was boldly attacked the moment he was advancing towards the bridge to gain the right bank of the Traun, under the protection of numerous batteries. This day cost the Austrians four thousand five hundred killed and wounded, and from six to seven thousand prisoners. On the 6th of May, the prince of Ponte Corvo had his head-quarters at Rœtz, upon the high road from Ratisbon to Prague. On the same day, the duke of Montebello arrived with his troops at Moelk, whilst the duke of Rivoli supplied their place at Amstetten, and the duke of Auerstadt at Lintz.

On the 7th of May, the Austrian general Hiller, arriving at St. Polten, divided his troops, and passed the Danube over the bridge of Krems with the most numerous body; the rest, composed of light troops, under General Nordmann, pursued the route to Vienna, to assist in the defence of that city till the arrival of the archduke Charles, who had flattered himself with being able to operate on both sides of the Danube. On the 9th of May, the corps of Marshals Massena and Lannes formed a junction near Sieghartskirchen, four leagues from the Austrian capital. On the same day, the emperor's head-quarters were at St. Polten; the prince

of Echmuhl quitted Lintz for Moelk. The prince of Ponte Corvo pursued the rear of the archduke Charles, and, harassing him with several demonstrations, obliged him to divide his army; lastly, the duke of Dantzick continued to march towards the Tyrol, and arrived at Innspruck.

On the 10th of May, at nine in the morning, Napoleon appeared at the gates of Vienna, with the corps of the duke of Montebello. This was exactly a month after the Austrian army had passed the Inn to invade Bavaria. The emperor slept in the evening at the imperial chateau of Schoenbrunn. Vienna was then occupied by the archduke Maximilian with ten battalions of the line and ten of the landwehr making from fifteen to sixteen thousand men. The duke of Montebello, by order of Napoleon, sent Colonel Lagrange to summon the city to open its gates, when the enraged populace would have assassinated him, had he not been rescued by a picket. Soon after, the fire of the ramparts commenced at all points.

Napoleon was reduced thus reluctantly to the hard necessity of bombarding the place. General Bertrand, of the engineers, chose to erect a battery of twenty howitzers upon the spot where the Turks, in 1683, first opened their trenches. This battery, covered by the emperor's stables, began to bombard the place about nine o'clock, but could not silence the fire of the ramparts. Several hotels and large buildings in the city became the prey of the flames, and spread the greatest consternation amongst an immense population, shut up as it were in a narrow space. In the interim, a flag of truce was sent out, to announce that the young archdutchess Maria Louise, ill of the small-pox,

not being able to accompany her father and mother, was then in the imperial palace, exposed to the fire of the French artillery. Out of respect to this princess, Napoleon changed the direction of the batteries in such a manner, that the palace was preserved. The archduke, finding his communications threatened, ordered the troops of the line to evacuate the city, leaving the battalions of the landwehr under General O'Reilly, whom he had authorized to treat for a capitulation. In fact, the emperor Napoleon, on the following day, granted the deputation sent to him the same capitulation which they had received from him in the year 1805; the articles were signed in the evening, and, on the following day, General Oudinot's troops occupied the city, the garrison of which remained prisoners of war.

Napoleon did not enter Vienna, but the imperial guard was cantoned about Schoenbrunn, and the corps under the dukes of Rivoli, Montebello and Istria, in the environs of that city. Two points offered themselves for the passage of the Danube; the first to the left of the place, near the village of Nausdorf, and below Bisamberg, and which commanded an excellent position on the other side, supposing the river could be passed in sufficient force before the enemy arrived. An attempt made to seize this position did not succeed. The second point was on the right, between the island of Lobau and Presburg. Here the Danube is divided into several branches, and the heights on the right bank allow of the works being protected by batteries. The isle of Lobau, to which the emperor gave the preference, about a mile and a half east of Vienna, is covered with trees, and surrounded with bushes

on all sides, which conceal even the most elevated situations upon it.

On the 21st of May, the whole Austrian army was under arms, and drawn up in two lines behind Gerardsdorf, between the mount Bisamberg and the Russbach, a brook. At four in the evening the archduke, having learned by his out-posts that a part of the French army was in position, no longer hesitated to advance. The Austrian army then presented a total of ninety thousand men, with two hundred and twenty-eight pieces of cannon of different calibre. To resist this force Napoleon had not more than forty thousand men with him, and the greatest part of the artillery was in the island of Lobau.

The action commenced with a vigorous attack by the archduke upon the left wing of the French at Gros Aspern. The defence, conducted by Marshal Massena, was equally as spirited as the attack; three times the Austrians, much superior in number, endeavoured to carry the village of Aspern, and three times they were repulsed. Boudet's division, which defended Essling under the duke of Montebello, did not display less firmness and valour. Marshal Bessieres, advancing with rapidity upon the corps under General Hohenzollern, broke it, and threw it into disorder. The Austrian cavalry in their turn endeavoured to overthrow the French; O'Reilly's regiment was cut in pieces; but night came on, and put an end to this combat.

This murderous day, in which the advantage did not rest with either party, was the prelude to the terrible and memorable battle on the day following. During the night, the division of St. Hilaire, the corps of Oudinot, a part of the old and new guard,

two brigades of light cavalry, and the train of artillery, arrived from the island of Lobau, and entered into line with the other troops. These re-enforcements increased the French army to forty-five thousand men.

On the 22d, at day-break, the archduke Charles made his dispositions for renewing the battle, which began at four in the morning. The columns of Generals Hiller and Bellegarde attacked the village of Aspern, still occupied by the marshal duke of Rivoli, with an additional division. The French firmly maintained their position. Whilst this was passing on the left of the French line, the Austrians attacked the village of Essling with equal vigour; but this was obstinately defended by Boudet's division.

Towards seven in the evening, Napoleon conceived the idea of separating the Austrian army, by penetrating through its centre, and charged the duke of Montebello with this operation. The enemy's efforts to resist the French columns were in vain; they continued to advance with the cry of *Vive l'empereur!* the Austrian line was soon obliged to retreat, though in very good order. It was seven in the morning: the French cavalry had reached the little village of Breitenlee, the archduke's head-quarters. Only a few more efforts were now wanting to complete the triumph of fifty thousand Frenchmen over ninety thousand of their enemies, when suddenly it was understood that the emperor had just received information, that the bridges thrown over the Danube had been carried away by boats loaded with stones, launched from the islands above that of Lobau. It now appeared impossible that the rest of the army, composed

of more than forty thousand men, eighty pieces of artillery, &c., could pass into the isle of Lobau, or over to the left shore of the Danube. Such intelligence as this would have disconcerted any other chief than Napoleon: he, without showing the least alteration in his countenance, and with heroic indifference, sent orders to Marshal Lannes to slacken his pursuit, and to return slowly into a position between Aspern and Essling.

Perceiving the French thus arrested in their career of victory, the archduke Charles had no doubt but that the auxiliary means that had been preparing had taken their intended effect; and the battle was renewed upon the same ground, and with the same balance of success, as on the preceding evening. The villages of Aspern and Essling were attacked by the reserve of the enemy's grenadiers, who had not before taken any part in the action. The feeble French army, compelled to be sparing of its ammunition, knowing they could no longer receive any supply, could oppose nothing but their bayonets to these terrible attacks, excepting their native valour and unshaken constancy. The troops exposed to this dreadful fire from their adversaries, never fired unless when the enemy's columns were within forty paces. Whilst the intrepid Marshal Lannes, at the head of his brave men, was running along the front of his line, and encouraging them by his voice and example, he was struck on the knee by a ball. General St. Hilaire and a number of officers were mortally wounded, yet their fall did not dishearten the brave men they commanded for a moment; they saw their ranks thinned without any emotions of terror; they closed as fast, and still dared the death that menaced them.

Napoleon saw that victory was departing from his eagles; but, superior to fortune, he continued his dispositions as in a day of triumph. He sent reenforcements to the points most pressed; he endeavoured to gain time without compromising the safety of his troops. Gros Aspern, in the mean while, was taken and retaken four times, and Essling eight. At the last of these attacks, the emperor made the regiment of fusileers, and the tiralleurs of the guard, advance under the generals Mouton and Curial: they took and remained in possession of Essling, which the enemy attempted no more to disturb. The old guard, commanded by General Dorsenne, was placed in the third line, and the Austrians wisely thought that their efforts would fail against those brave veterans. At length, at nine at night, this sanguinary conflict ceased: the French preserved the positions they had in the morning, and the Austrians bivouacked where they were. Both armies sustained nearly an equal loss; from fifteen to twenty thousand men had been killed or wounded on both sides.

Ever since ten in the morning, the engineers and the artillery officers had been employed in the island of Lobau repairing the damage done to the bridges, especially that which kept up the communication with the left bank of the Danube; but they had now to struggle with the fire-ships that were continually coming down, and against the waters of the river, that had risen eight feet in the space of some hours, occasioned by the melting of the snows in the mountains. Cables were broken; vessels, drifted away, had the greatest difficulty to regain the current; they were replaced and drifted

again and again. Before the bridge was well fixed, men and ammunition were passed over, which enabled the French to hold out till night. Though the engagement ceased to be general at nine o'clock, the advanced posts continued firing till midnight.

Napoleon had passed over to the isle of Lobau before the bridge was in a state to sustain the numbers that followed. He was walking alone at a great pace, and apparently with his eyes to the ground, when he observed a long file of the wounded endeavouring to gain the island, there to find protection and relief to their sufferings. In tra cing the line of this funeral march, he observed a group advancing, and carrying Marshal Lannes. Crossing their fire-locks, and with some branches of oak, twelve old grenadiers, covered with blood and dust, had formed a bier, upon which lay stretched the illustrious warrior. As soon as the emperor perceived this was the duke of Montebello, he hastened to meet him. The grenadiers stopped, and Napoleon, throwing himself upon his old companion in arms, who had fainted with the loss of blood, with a voice scarcely articulate, said several times, "Lannes, my friend, do you know me? It is the emperor; it is Bonaparte, your friend." At these words Lannes, opening his eyes, till then closed, collected his spirits, and made some attempts to speak; but, not being able, he could only lift his dying arms to pass them round the neck of Napoleon. Thus embracing and mingling their sighs, the old grenadiers, during this mute eloquence, could not suppress the tears of sympathy that fell from those eyes that had so lately gleamed with a very different passion.

When as many of the wounded as it was possible to remove had been brought to Lobau, a bark was prepared, in which Napoleon traversed the broadest arm of the Danube, and joined the troops that remained upon the right bank of that river. Before he quitted the island, he dictated an order to Marshal Massena, enjoining him to make his retreat to the island with all possible silence, after having lighted and increased the fire of his bivouacks, for the purpose of deceiving the enemy. The French army performed this retrograde movement, and the passage of the bridge, with admirable order; at four in the morning, all the troops and the artillery were collected in the island, and the bridge removed.

But to return to the operations on the other side: from the approaching sound of the cannon, the corps of Marshal Davoust, the division under General St. Sulpice, and some other troops left on the right of the river, could easily judge how much their presence was wanted. Their desperation was extreme, when they found that no means were left for their passage.

The archduke Charles did not profit by the advantage which this retreat of a part of the French army had offered him, and which was more than counterbalanced, soon after, by the arrival of the army of Italy under Prince Eugene.

The archduke John, commanding the Austrian army in Italy, was completely beaten by the French in the affairs upon the Piave, St. Daniel, Tarvis, and Goritzia. On the 28th of May, the duke of Ragusa, commanding the army of Dalmatia, effected his junction at Fiume with the army of Italy.

In adverting to the plan of operations laid down by Napoleon, it may be necessary to observe, that, according to this, the divisions of infantry under Generals Clausel and Montichard, that occupied Dalmatia and part of Illyria, were to form the extreme right of the grand army as soon as Prince Eugene should have formed his junction with it. In the meanwhile the viceroy, in advancing upon the frontiers of Austria and Hungary, on the 5th of June, was in possession of Œdenburg, the first frontier town in Hungary. Two days after this, the prince established his head-quarters at Guntz. Advancing towards Raab on the 12th, the town of Papa was occupied, after a brisk engagement, in which General Grouchy made six hundred prisoners.

CHAPTER V.

Battle of Raab—Desperate Affair of the Square-house—Ability and Courage of Prince Eugene—Positions occupied by the Army of the Archduke Charles—The Island of Lobau—Operations of the French—Passage of the Danube—Battles of Enzersdorff, Wagram, Gros Aspern, &c.—Generals Macdonald and Oudinot appointed Marshals—Retreat and Pursuit of the Austrians—Arrival of Napoleon at Znaim—Conditions of an Armistice agreed upon—Marriage with the Archdutchess Marie Louise proposed by Napoleon—Reflections—Attempt of a young German to assassinate Napoleon—Arrival of the Emperor at Fontainebleau—Expedition against Walcheren

On the 13th, in the morning, the French army was in motion for Raab; here they found the Austrian army in position upon the heights that mask that city. Twelve hundred select troops occupied as an advanced post a farm, or large square building, which had been carefully fortified. A deep water, which enclosed the marsh on the left, bathed the walls of this farm, and increased the difficulties of its approach. The rear of this formidable position was bristled with artillery. Prince Eugene, having reconnoitred the whole line, made his dispositions for the attack, which was fixed for the 14th. The viceroy, with thirty-five thousand men, attacked fifty thousand of the enemy. Whilst General Seras made an attempt upon the farm, or square-house, General Montbrun made a movement upon the right of the enemy's light troops, which obliged them to unmask the front of their infantry, and throw themselves precipitately towards the left of their line. Having arrived near the farm, General Seras made dispositions for carrying it by

main force; but the depth of the water, spoken of before, presented an obstacle which his troops could not easily surmount. General Seras, however, whilst other corps were more successful against the enemy, made a vigorous attack upon the troops posted on the right of the square-house but, notwithstanding the success that attended this movement, he did not obtain possession before three successive attacks had been made upon it. The taking of this position was absolutely necessary to ensure the success of the day: accordingly the viceroy sent a brigade to re-enforce General Seras, with orders to renew the attack without delay. This brigade then proceeded to attack the front of this fortress, whilst General Seras turned the position, to take it in the rear: still, notwithstanding the intrepidity and devotion of the assailants, they could not sustain the dreadful fire of musketry and grape poured upon them by the Austrians. In the course of a few minutes, General Roussel's brigade had upwards of six hundred men, with thirty-six officers, killed and wounded, and was obliged to retire on his right. General Seras then, rendered almost desperate by his want of success, took the resolution to recommence another attack with the whole of his troops. After having run through the ranks, and animated the courage of the soldiers, telling them that the success of the day depended entirely upon the last effort they were going to make, he ordered the charge to be beaten, and putting himself at their head, precipitated himself upon this fatal position. Expression would be wanting, to give the details of this terrible attack; but in some minutes the square-house was entered, in spite of all the obstacles that surrounded it; the

walls were scaled, the gates forced open by the sappers, and the French, covered with blood and dirt, entered the walls. In vain did the Austrian grenadiers demand quarter, upon their knees, of the conquerors, whose fury knew no bounds: the house was burnt, and all that escaped the flames perished by the sword. Not one Austrian survived this terrible disaster. At four o'clock the victory was decisive. Three thousand prisoners, and six pieces of cannon, were the result: the enemy left three thousand dead on the field. On the following day he was closely pursued on the road of Comorn and Pest.

The operations of Prince Eugene, during this campaign, had placed him in a distinguished rank amongst the first generals of the French armies. In the space of two months, he had advanced from the shores of the Adige to the Danube. Thirty-seven thousand prisoners, twelve standards, nearly two hundred pieces of cannon, ammunition, magazines, &c., were the trophies that he presented to Napoleon, when he came with his valiant troops to contribute to the latest success of the grand army.

Ever since the battle of Essling, the two grand armies, French and Austrian, had remained not inactive, but without undertaking any thing of moment. The army of the archduke, augmented by the numerous levies made in Hungary, counted, in his ranks upon the left bank of the Danube, upwards of 170,000 men, with nearly 900 pieces of artillery. The Austrian general had raised some very strong works opposite the island of Lobau, parallel with the Danube, forming a line extending from the village of Gros Aspern, and passing through the village of Essling, to the little town

of Enzersdorff. The main body of the Austrian army, established upon some hills about a mile behind these intrenchments, had its front covered by a running water, the Rusbach, the borders of which were fortified with other small works. Napoleon had established the greatest part of his army in the island of Lobau. This island, about two leagues in circumference, was now become a kind of fortified place, nearly covered with works. Three bridges were constructed in parallel lines, six hundred paces in length. Upon one of these three carriages might pass abreast: by these the island was connected with the right bank of the Danube, and thus a communication with Vienna was secured. Stockades, established in different directions, protected these bridges against every new insult, and even from fire-ships, and other incendiary machines. On the 1st of July, the French army, including the troops marching under the viceroy, was from 140 to 150,000 strong. The corps who had fought at Essling were encamped at Lobau; the others were distributed between Vienna and Presburg.

The time was now approaching, when the fate of the Austrian monarchy was expected to be decided by a single battle. The archduke imagined the French army would debouch upon the left of the Danube from the same point as before, and by the same means. The emperor, on his part, endeavoured to strengthen this supposition, in order to draw the attention of this prince from his real object, which was, to render all his works and intrenchments of no use to him. On the 2d of July, five hundred voltigeurs passed into the island Du Moulin, opposite Essling, and took a position: this

island was soon joined to the continent by a little bridge, in advance of which a *fleche* was constructed. As the emperor wished, this operation attracted the attention of the enemy; and the redoubts of Essling directed a brisk fire upon this false point of attack. During the 4th, a large portion of the army was collected on the right bank: at ten at night, General Oudinot embarked fifteen hundred voltigeurs, on board ten gun-boats, under General Conroux, who landed them below the isle of Lobau: some of the enemy's posts were driven back upon the village of Muhlleuten. At eleven o'clock, a terrible cannonade commenced upon Enzersdorff and the enemy's left: the houses at Enzersdorff were soon on fire. The enemy's artillery answered that of the French with great vigour; but nothing could prevent the passage of the Danube by the French. The army was formed; Massena's corps was on the left, those of the prince of Ponte Corvo and General Oudinot in the centre, and Marshal Davoust upon the right. The army of Italy, under the viceroy, the corps of the duke of Dalmatia, the imperial guard, and the heavy cavalry, debouched successively, to form a second line and the reserves. The enemy could then perceive the intentions of Napoleon: he saw the French army drawn up in order of battle upon the left extremity of his line, all the works of which were now rendered useless. The archduke, compelled to change his front, was obliged to leave his redoubts nearly a mile in his rear, and accept battle upon the ground which the French emperor himself had chosen.

The action commenced between seven and eight in the morning. At this moment the batteries tha had played upon Enzersdorff all night had compel

led the enemy to retire, excepting four battalions left to protect the smoking ruins. Colonel St. Croix, being sent upon this point, made these battalions prisoners. General Oudinot then surrounded the castle of Sachsengang, which the enemy had fortified, took nine hundred men he found there, and twelve pieces of cannon. The emperor then made the whole army deploy in the immense plain of Enzersdorff. The archduke Charles, thus deceived in his hopes, ordered several manœuvres, with a view to regain some advantages upon this new field of battle. Leaving the main body of his army in their lines near the Danube, and behind the Rusbach, he detached several columns of infantry, supported by a numerous artillery and all his cavalry, to overwhelm the right of the French. One of these columns occupied the village of Rutzendorf; but General Oudinot soon drove them out, and Napoleon sent orders to the prince of Echmuhl to support his right, whilst he threatened the enemy's left. From noon till nine at night, the French continued to manœuvre in the plain of Enzersdorff, and occupied most of the villages in advance of Rusbach. Marshal Massena successively seized upon the works of Essling and Gros Aspern, while the Saxons, under Prince Ponte Corvo, carried the village of Raasdorf. At nine o'clock, an attack was made upon the Austrian centre at Wagram, by Prince Eugene. This position, strongly fortified, was soon carried by the three divisions of Pacthod, Seras, and Lamarque. The victors had already got beyond Wagram, when numerous re-enforcements sent by the archduke, and the flanking fire of many batteries on the right and left, forced General Macdonald to retreat. Instead of pursuing

the French beyond Wagram, the Austrians were satisfied with retaking the position, and remaining in it. General Macdonald rallied his columns, and the whole army bivouacked upon the field of battle, waiting with impatience the return of day.

The operations here described have in some narrations been called the battle of Enzersdorff; but the affair of the 5th of July was in reality only the prelude to the great battle that was fought on the day following, generally called the battle of Wagram.

Napoleon had employed a part of the night in collecting a strong mass opposite the centre of the enemy's line, and within cannon-shot of the village of Wagram. Marshal Massena advanced upon the left of Atterklau, leaving at Gros Aspern a single division, with orders, if necessary, to fall back upon the isle of Lobau. Marshal Davoust passed the village of Grosshoffen, to approach the French centre. Subsequent to the movements of the evening, the archduke had weakened his centre to reenforce his wings, to which he gave a much greater extent. The right of the enemy's line, upon which they had begun to raise fresh redoubts, supported by the Danube, extended from Stradlau to Gerasdorf, the centre at Wagram, and the left from this last village to Markgrafen Neusiedel.

At day-break the French army was again formed and under arms; the prince of Ponte Corvo and Marshal Massena on the left; Prince Eugene in the centre, with the troops of the army of Italy, re-enforced by Broussier's division, that had arrived from the isle of Lobau; the corps of Dalmatia, under General Marmont; that of the grenadiers and voltigeurs united, under General Oudinot: in the

rear of these were the imperial guard and the heavy cavalry, forming several lines; the prince of Echmuhl's corps formed the right. The ground covered by the two armies was about two leagues in extent. The troops nearest the Danube were but twelve hundred fathoms from the city of Vienna, so that the towers, the steeples and the tops of the highest houses, were covered by the numerous population, thus become spectators of the terrible contest that was preparing.

At sunrise, July 6th, the cannonade commenced upon the two lines. At five o'clock, the left of the Austrian army, under Prince Rosemberg, debouched from Markgrafen Neusiedel, whilst the right, composed of the corps of Generals Bellegarde, Kollowrath, Lichtenstein, and Hiller, advanced upon Stadlau; Prince Hohenlohe's corps, alone forming the centre, remained in its position at Wagram. The emperor, perceiving that the prince of Rosemberg was moving against Marshal Davoust, repaired in person to the right wing, which he re-enforced with the cuirassiers under General Arrighe, and caused twelve pieces of light artillery to advance upon the flank of the enemy's columns. After an obstinate engagement of two hours' duration, Davoust succeeded in repulsing his adversary as far as Neusiedel, with considerable loss.

Whilst the French army thus signalized itself by its success in this part of the field, the battle was carried on all along the rest of the line. In moving his grand masses to the right, it was the intention of the archduke to force the French left, and cut off the army from its bridges upon the Danube. Thus, at the moment when a part of his columns were warmly engaged with the prince

of Ponte Corvo and Marshal Massena, he put himself at the head of thirty-five thousand of his best troops, in the space between the main body of Massena's troops and the division he had left at Gros Aspern. This mass easily overthrew the feeble posts which occurred in its progress, and soon threatened the flanks of the French army. The columns, also, that attacked the left front, made great progress: Gros Aspern was carried; the prince of Ponte Corvo's corps, consisting of Saxons and Bavarians, was overthrown and routed. The left wing of the French, thus forced, formed in a square, with one side facing the Danube. The archduke, pursuing his success, outflanked the French by more than half a league. He even pushed parties almost up to the bridges. A panic was spread in the rear of the French army; and to the number of non-combatants the battle seemed lost: they fled with all imaginable speed towards Lobau, carrying with them the most alarming rumours. It was about nine in the morning, when several officers of the staff came to inform Napoleon that the enemy had made a furious attack upon Marshal Massena and the prince of Ponte Corvo, and that the left wing was already outflanked to the extent of nearly three thousand toises; that the enemy deployed numerous troops, and a formidable artillery, in the space that separated Gros Aspern from Wagram. After having ordered Marshal Davoust to turn the position of Neusiedel, and then to proceed to Wagram, Napoleon hastened to the left, to inquire into the real state of affairs. The movement prescribed to the prince of Echmuhl was happily executed. Whilst the two divisions of Gudin and Pacthod attacked the village on the right, General Morand

moved on the left of the enemy, whom he turned and attacked all at once. He was supported by General Friant, who disposed his troops in *echelons*, having on his left the artillery of the division, re-enforced by seven twelve-pounders that the emperor had caused to advance on this point. The superiority of the enemy's forces at first compelled Morand's division to give ground; but Friant's having advanced with a charging pace, the Austrians were driven back to their intrenchments, where they were forced, and in a few moments the heights between Wagram and Neusiedel were crowned by the victors. At the same moment, Neusiedel was carried by the divisions of Gudin and Pacthod. The enemy's left, entirely overthrown, was forced upon the centre, and pursued by the four divisions under Davoust. The movement upon the heights of Neusiedel was General Friant's own act, and obtained the applause of Napoleon.

When the emperor perceived his light troop upon the heights of Wagram, he ordered Marshal Massena to make good his positions, and asserted that the battle was gained; at the same time he ordered a decisive attack upon the enemy's centre, by the three divisions of Seras, Broussier, and Lamarque, under Marshal Macdonald, to be supported by the corps under Generals Marmont and Oudinot. Marshal Bessieres had also been ordered to move with the cavalry of the guard, and that of the reserve, and to make a charge upon the flanks of the formidable columns under the archduke Charles, whilst General Lauriston, at the head of a battery of a hundred pieces of cannon, advanced upon a trot, without firing, till they came within half shot of the enemy's columns.

The enemy presented nine grand masses of infantry and cavalry, protected by artillery. The Austrian cavalry was the first to charge the French; but these, formed in squares, repulsed the shock with vigour. The enemy, to avoid being turned by the troops under the prince of Echmuhl, abandoned the heights of Baumersdorf; these were occupied by General Pacthod.

During this time, the hundred pieces of cannon under General Lauriston had made great ravages in the enemy's right, and reduced his artillery to silence. The left wing of the Austrians, hotly pursued, hastily retired to Wagram, where they hoped they should be able to rally; but the united attacks of the divisions of the prince of Echmuhl and General Oudinot gave them no time to form again. They retired, but in a manner worthy of the admiration of the brave troops who had compelled them to make this movement.

The battle was completely gained. The emperor, witness to the last and incredible efforts of the army of Italy, directed by Macdonald, was so well satisfied, that he thought proper to reward all these brave men upon the field of battle, in the person of their worthy chief. On the day following the victory, and before the army was in motion to pursue the vanquished, Napoleon embraced General Macdonald, and named him a marshal of the empire. The same rank was granted a few days after to General Oudinot, and to the duke of Ragusa, for their eminent services.

In the night between the 6th and 7th, the Austrian army retired upon Kornenburg and Wolkersdorf, where the emperor Francis had staid during the battle. From hence he hastened to Moravia.

abandoning, as the trophies of his defeat, ten standards, forty pieces of cannon, nearly eighteen thousand prisoners, nine thousand wounded, and a great quantity of equipage. His loss in killed amounted to about four thousand. The loss of the French, much less than that of the enemy, was six thousand wounded, and two thousand six hundred killed.

The soldiers, of all arms, had rivalled each other in intrepidity and glory on this memorable day. Napoleon himself had been several times exposed in the midst of the most terrible fire. Ever since morning he had been running through the different lines, encouraging the troops by his presence and his persuasive eloquence. Many were killed by the balls and bullets that flew about him. It was observed, that the enemy's fire was particularly directed against the groups that environed the emperor. In consequence of this, he was obliged to change his surtout three times.

The Austrian army retreated through Gaunersdorf, and the French overtook their rear-guard beyond Wolkersdorf, where Napoleon fixed his head-quarters in the same house the emperor of Austria had occupied on the evening before.

On the 11th, at noon, Napoleon arrived before Znaim, at the moment the prince of Essling had seized upon the bridge at this city. At this time, Prince John of Lichtenstein presented himself before the French posts to treat for an armistice. The emperor received this envoy, who had been sent on a similar mission in 1805, and immediately ordered the firing to cease. The proposed armistice was concluded in the night between the 11th and 12th; and the principal articles stipulated, that the citadels or forts of Brunn and Gratz should be

evacuated directly by the Austrian troops ; that they should abandon the Tyrol and the Voralberg, and give up the fort of Sacksenburg to the French. The armistice of Znaim, intended to last only a month, was prolonged till the month of October; but, owing to difficulties that occurred, the treaty was not signed till the 14th of that month.

The most important clause in this treaty, and which did not form any part of the articles signed by the plenipotentiaries, was not intended to be made known for a considerable time. Napoleon had demanded the hand of the young archdutchess Marie-Louise, the eldest daughter of Francis II. Very great obstacles seemed to oppose this union, especially as it was one of the conditions dictated by the conqueror; it was repulsive to the conveniences, the opinion, and the hereditary pride of the house of Austria: however, the emperor of the French undertook to smooth the difficulties that existed on his side, and the Austrian monarch consented to the sacrifice demanded.

It was in vain that a legitimate union, sanctioned by time, and consecrated by the solemnity of a coronation, had associated the fate of Josephine with that of Napoleon. Neither the virtues of this lady, whom he had placed by his side, nor the gratitude that he owed to the first promoter of his fortune, could arrest the ambition of the French emperor. He pretended to be in want of an heir, though he had already proposed his brothers as his successors. A *senatus consulte*, on the 16th of December, 1809, declared the dissolution of his marriage with Josephine. The church also yielded in its turn. The nullity of the marriage, as to any spiritual obligation, was likewise pronounced by the officiality of

Paris. The victim, too, of this determination, whose grief should have saved her from the humiliation of figuring in this business, could not be excused: she was compelled to come forward and declare, "that, having no more hope of giving children to her husband, which would be consistent with his politics, she resigned herself to the greatest sacrifice that she could possibly be called on to make."

Two days before the ratification of the treaty of Vienna, Napoleon was in danger of assassination, during the review of the troops upon the parade at Schoenbrunn. A young man, of an interesting figure, and of a placid appearance, who had concealed himself among the spectators, suddenly rushed upon the emperor, attempting to strike him with a poniard. The prince of Neufchatel arrested his arm, and General Rapp immediately seized the assassin. Napoleon was sufficiently master of himself to preserve an unaltered ccuntenance, and continued to order the evolutions, as if the incident that occurred had been of no importance. Two days afterwards the young man suffered death.

This attempt at assassination is said to have powerfully contributed to accelerate the peace with Austria, and hasten the return of Napoleon to France.

Napoleon departed from Schoenbrunn on the 27th of October.

Arrived at Fontainebleau, no preparations had been made for the emperor's reception—not even a guard was upon duty; the court and family, however, arrived soon after. The court left Fontainebleau on the following day: the emperor rode to Paris without stirrups; he outstripped all his escort; only one chasseur was able to keep up with

him. In this manner he arrived at the Tuilleries.

Three days after his arrival at Paris, the peace was proclaimed with the usual ceremonies. It is useless to dwell upon the enthusiasm with which this event was hailed by the French people of all classes. The nation had already begun to be extremely weary of the wars, in which the politics of their sovereign were continually involving them.

The year 1809 was distinguished by the unsuccessful expedition of Lord Chatham to the island of Walcheren.

CHAPTER VI.

Marriage of Napoleon with the Archduchess Marie Louise proposed—Anecdotes of the Imperial Family of Austria—Prince Berthier sent to Vienna—Marriage of the Emperor at Paris—Letter from the new Empress to her Tutor at Vienna—Napoleon's Remarks on the Conduct of the two Empresses—Origin of the Disagreements between Napoleon and the Pope—Ferdinand of Spain and Baron Kolly—Holland and other Countries united to the French Empire—Bernadotte elected Prince royal of Sweden—Birth of the King of Rome—Bonaparte begins his Plans for the Invasion of Russia.

THE commencement of the year 1810 was rendered remarkable by the consummation of a marriage between Napoleon Bonaparte and the archduchess Marie Louise, which had been the subject of rumour some months before. After Napoleon had made himself master of Vienna in 1809, he chose the beautiful castle of Schoenbrunn, near that city, for his residence; during which he proceeded to gratify his curiosity in surveying the apartments deserted in haste some weeks before by the imperial family. Napoleon, attended by M. Meyer, one of the castle inspectors, on entering an apartment, observed the portraits of the emperor's children, Marie Louise, Leopoldina, and Clementina, when his attention was so powerfully attracted by the first, that he asked the inspector if Marie Louise was as handsome and agreeable as there represented, telling him to state his opinion fairly and clearly. This he did with such satisfaction to Napoleon, that he ordered the portrait to be put into his cabinet, and placed before his writing-table. On leaving Vienna, he carried the portrait with him. It is added that, when the proposal of

a marriage was made to Louise by her father, the windows of the room, in which the conversation took place, opened towards the ruined walls and fortifications of Vienna. "Can you," said she to the emperor Francis, "give the hand of your beloved child to such a destroyer?"—"True," said Francis, "but the evils you deplore, and all the misfortunes of the country, arise from the laws of war." In fact, it is stated, that the importunity of the emperor with his daughter was seconded by his *tears*, which she could not resist, but promised to comply with his wishes to their fullest extent.

It is also asserted by the countess Chauclos, who was present, that the princess Leopoldina, then between thirteen and fourteen years of age, perceiving the aversion of her eldest sister to this union, said, "she would be married to Napoleon, to deliver them out of their painful situation."

On the 5th of March, the prince of Neufchatel, commissioned to demand the archdutchess Marie Louise, made his public entry into Vienna and, on the 8th appeared at court in full ceremony, where, after approaching the emperor's throne, he announced the purport of his message in a short speech. The emperor Francis sent for his daughter: she appeared, gave her consent, and received a portrait of the emperor Napoleon. After this, the prince of Neufchatel waited on the archduke Charles, and communicated to him the desire of the emperor Napoleon, that he would act as his representative in the marriage ceremony. On the 11th of March, the nuptials were celebrated at Vienna, at six in the evening, in the church of the Augustines; and on the 13th, the empress set out for

Paris. At Brannau she was received by the queen of Naples ; and she was welcomed in all the capitals through which she passed. The emperor Napoleon had repaired to Compeigne ; and on the day on which she was expected there, he desired the king of Holland to go and meet her at Soissons ; but, while he stopped in that city, Napoleon changed his determination, set out for Compeigne in a calash, passed the king of Holland, met the empress, and returned to the palace of Soissons whilst his brother was still there.

In the evening of the 28th of March, Napoleon re-entered Compeigne with the empress. The civil marriage took place at St. Cloud on the 1st of April, 1810, and the religious ceremony was solemnized in the chapel of the Louvre on the following day. All the kings and princes assembled in Paris were present.

As this marriage was political, and that almost to a degree of cruelty towards the first empress, many, no doubt, had their suspicion as to whether the connexion would prove a happy one. To show that it was such, the following letter, written by the young archdutchess, has been referred to. The old Count Edling had been Marie Louise's preceptor at Vienna. In June, 1810, one of the chamberlains that accompanied her to Paris returned to Vienna, and, with other despatches for the imperial family, was charged by the empress Marie Louise with an autograph letter in German to the old count, of which the following is a translation :

"*My dear Count Edling*,

"I have received from you so many testimonies

of your care and affection, that I feel an ardent desire to inform you by Count Joseph Metternich of the particulars of my present situation. When I left you and my friends in Vienna, I saw the good people plunged in the deepest sorrow, from the persuasion that I was going as a sacrifice to my new destination. I now feel it an agreeable duty to assure you, that, during three months' residence at this court, I have been, and am, the happiest woman in the world. From the first moment I met and saw the emperor Napoleon, my beloved husband, he has shown me, on every occasion, such respectful attentions, with every token of kindness and sincere friendship, that I should be unjust and ungrateful not to acknowledge his noble behaviour.

"Believe not, my dear count, that this is written by any order of my husband: these sentiments are dictated from my heart; nor has any one so much as read the letter. The emperor is at this moment by me, but will not look at the contents. He has desired me to send you, in his name, the insignia of the order of the legion of honour. Respecting your wish to visit me at Paris, my husband and I will be very glad to see and receive you in the month of September at the Tuilleries: we shall then have returned from a little tour. You will then be a witness of my satisfaction, which I cannot describe to you in this letter.

"Adieu, my dear and good Count Edling; remember me to all my beloved family and friends; tell them that I am happy, and that I thank God for this felicity. God bless and preserve you; and believe me that I remain for ever your affectionate

"MARIE.

"*Paris, June* 16, 1810."

"Let Marie Louise," said Napoleon, "be asked with what tenderness and affection I always treated her. After her forcible separation from me, she avowed, in the most feeling terms, to ***, her ardent desire to join me in my exile; extolled with many tears both myself and my conduct to her, and bitterly lamented her cruel separation."

Napoleon asserted, that no woman was more astonished than Marie Louise, just after her marriage, when she observed the few precautions taken by him for his own personal safety. When she perceived that there were no sentinels except at the outer gates of the palace; that there were no *lords* sleeping before the doors of the apartments; that the doors were not even locked; and that there were no guns nor pistols in the room where she and the emperor slept—"Why," said she with astonishment, "you do not take half so many precautions as my father, who has nothing to fear."—"I am," said Napoleon, "too much of a fatalist to take any precautions against assassination."

In one of the evening walks, in which the emperor used to indulge while residing at the Briars, shortly after his landing at St. Helena, he told Las Cases that he had in the course of his life been much attached to two women, of very different characters: the one was the votary of art and the graces; the other was all innocence and simple nature; and each, he observed, had a very high degree of merit.

The first, in no moment of her life, ever assumed a position or attitude that was not pleasing or captivating; it was impossible to take her by surprise, or to make her feel the least inconvenience. She employed every resource of art to heighten natura'

attractions, but with such ingenuity as to render every trace of allurement imperceptible. The other, on the contrary, never suspected that any thing was to be gained by innocent artifice. The one was always somewhat short of the truth of nature; the other was altogether frank and open, and was a stranger to subterfuge. The first never asked her husband for any thing, but she was in debt to every one; the second freely asked whenever she wanted, which, however, very seldom happened, and she never thought of receiving any thing without immediately paying for it. Both were amiable and gentle in disposition, and strongly attached to their husband. The emperor declared, that he had uniformly experienced from both the greatest equality of temper, and most implicit obedience.

The continual disagreements between Napoleon and the late pope, which commenced in 1805, and occupied nearly five years, originated in the measures adopted by the former for resisting the progress of the Russians and the English in Italy, and especially in the vicinity of the Ecclesiastical States. A correspondence on this subject was kept up during the years 1805 and 1806. The pope perpetually spoke of his jurisdiction, and of his supremacy over terrestrial powers; "because," he said, "heaven is above earth, spirit superior to matter."

The pope, as well as the people of Rome, entertained an opinion that Napoleon was afraid of the thunders of the church! To dissipate this silly idea, he ordered a corps of 6000 men to enter Rome, under pretext of proceeding to Naples. The emperor caused it to be insinuated, that he

would not be impeded in his temporal affairs by any spiritual obstacles. The court of Rome was now thrown into an absolute delirium: monitory letters, prayers, sermons, circular notes to the diplomatic bodies, &c., again protracted discussion till the commencement of 1808. The emperor then informed the pope, that, unless his holiness would adhere to the federative treaty of the powers of Italy within two months, Napoleon would consider Charlemagne's grant as null, and would confiscate the patrimony of St. Peter. No notice could be more explicit, still no regard was paid to it.

In the beginning of 1809, the fourth coalition being declared, the general commanding in Rome requested an increase of troops, and if that could not be granted, he desired that an end might be put to the anarchy of the pontifical government. He received orders to assume the government, incorporate the papal troops in the French army, maintain a good police, but to take care that the pope should receive the sums usually paid out of the treasury, for the maintenance of his household. In the mean while, the French troops in the papal territory not being numerous, and the battle of Essling having for a short time rendered the issue of the war in some degree dubious, the populace of Rome were in a high state of agitation. The holy father, shut up in the interior of his palace, caused it to be surrounded with barricades, which were guarded by several hundred armed men with the strictest vigilance. Exasperation between these men and the French soon became mutual. The situation of the pope was dangerous, and every moment a rupture was feared; and as the French general could not persuade those about the

pope, that his holiness would be much more secure if guarded only by the sanctity of his character, he resolved to act according to the exigencies of the case, and remove him to Florence. This restored tranquillity to Rome ; but, on the pontiff's arrival at Florence, the grand dutchess of Tuscany, being persuaded that he had been sent there without the order of the emperor, caused him to proceed to Turin, where the same motive led the governor-general of Piedmont to compel him to proceed to Grenoble.

The emperor Napoleon, then at Vienna, hearing what had occurred, sent orders that the pope should be treated with all the honours and attention due to his rank. The turn which the contention now took produced the first and second assemblies of the bishops at the council of Paris, the bull of 1811, and finally the concordate of Fontainebleau in 1812. The emperor, no longer willing to be trifled with by absurd arguments in this mixture of spiritual and temporal power, resolved to separate those attributes for ever, and no longer permit the pope to be a temporal sovereign. The *senatus consultum* of the 17th of February, 1810, annexed the states of Rome to the French empire, and thus settled the dispute for that time.

The holy father was at length removed to Fontainebleau, in order to place him in security against any attempt upon his person from sea. Here he had always seven or eight French bishops in his suite, and several cardinals, his medical establishment, his almoner, chaplain, and others. A number of carriages belonging to the court were also at his command ; the guards waited on him for the

pass-word every morning, and the grand marshal, Duroc, superintended the supply of every thing necessary, upon the same footing as the court of the Tuilleries.

The emperor saw the pope but once after the concordate was signed, in company with the empress: they paid him the first visit, which he, according to etiquette, returned immediately.

Napoleon, whilst at St. Helena, speaking of the pope, said he was a good man, but a fanatic.

Another event occurred this year, which, had it been attended with the success expected, might have produced some singular results. The imprisonment of Ferdinand of Spain by Napoleon, at Valencay in France, has already been noticed. Upon the credit of Napoleon we are told, that the British government had laid a plan to liberate Ferdinand VII. similar to the one which had already effected the escape of the Marquis de la Romana from Holstein. The person intrusted with this commission assumed the name of Baron de Kolly. On a sudden this person was seized, and the plan frustrated.

Early in the year 1810, a decree was issued for the re-union to France of all the countries situated upon the left shore of the Rhine, and those on the right shore to the neighbouring departments. By another decree, the islands of Walcheren, South and North Beveland, Schurwen, and Tholen, were created a department of France, called that of the Mouths of the Scheldt. On the 9th of July, another decree announced the re-union of Holland to France, and Amsterdam was declared the third city of the empire.

Marshal Bernadotte, the prince of Ponte Corvo, was this year elected by the diet, prince royal, and inheritor of the crown of Sweden.

On the 16th of June, 1811, Napoleon, proceeding from the Tuilleries in great state to the palace of the legislative body, announced to them the circumstance of the birth of his son.

At the close of this year, it is well known that Napoleon, on his return from a tour of observation in the Low Countries, began to form plans for the execution of his designs against Russia, as the emperor Alexander had for some time past begun to deviate from his former adherence to the continental system. British produce, in the meanwhile, found its way to the continent through the Russian ports, and thus furnished a similar example to other powers, who had hitherto submitted to the restrictions imposed upon them by the conqueror of th continent.

CHAPTER VII.

Military Operations in Russia and Poland—Napoleon's Departure from Paris—Treaty with the Emperor Francis of Austria—Causes that led to the War between Russia and France—Passage of the Niemen—Battles of Ostrowno—Sufferings of the French—Mischief introduced by Marauding—Battle of Smolensk—Battle of Valutina—General Kutusow takes Command of the Russians—Battle of Polotsk—Remarks by General Rapp and Lucien Bonaparte—Military Movements continued—Different Condition of the Russian and French Armies—Battle of Moskwa, or Borodino—The French enter Moscow—Napoleon's Account of the Burning of that City—He solicits Peace, and is rejected—Affair of Winkowo—Battles of Malo Jarosławiz and Viazma—Setting in of the cold Weather—Retreat of the French Army—Arrival upon the Banks of the Berezina—Battle—Dreadful Passage and Burning of the Bridge—Napoleon at Warsaw—His extravagant Reflections upon his Reverses—His Arrival at Paris—His Answer to the Address of the Senate.

The military events of 1812, especially in Russia and Poland, were of an unprecedented nature in the history of warfare.

On the 9th of May, Napoleon set off from Paris, attended by his "right-hand," Berthier, and accompanied as far as Metz by the new empress; from whence the royal pair again set out for Dresden, where a meeting took place with the emperor and empress of Germany, and where these august personages remained some time.

Napoleon, finding his armies well advanced, suddenly quitted his imperial festivities at Dresden, and proceeded on the 7th of June to Dantzick, on a tour of military observation; partly in hopes of facilitating a meeting which he was endeavouring to procure with the emperor Alexander, but at

which the ministers of the latter persuaded him not to be seen.

Still anxious to bear down every thing before him with a military force, he had negotiated a treaty with his father-in-law, by which Austria was to furnish 24,000 infantry, 6000 cavalry, and 60 pieces of artillery, whenever he should call on them to act as auxiliaries.

Without entering at any great length into the causes that led to the war between Russia and France in 1812, it may be sufficient to observe, that, till January, 1811, the negative relations of harmony, which had existed since the peace of Tilsit, continued. The cabinet of St. Petersburgh had entered into a negotiation with England, Sweden, Austria, and Prussia. For the first time for more than an age, the Swedish nation seemed to have forgotten the reverses of Charles the Twelfth. Napoleon, having put his army in motion, notified to the emperor Alexander, that he was ready to enter into a negotiation upon the points in litigation. He consented to modify the continental system with regard to Russia, and proposed a treaty of commerce, which, without annulling the ukase of December, 1810, should conciliate the interests of both nations. Hitherto facts speak in favour of Napoleon; and, in spite of prejudice, it is impossible not to acknowledge, on this important occasion, a spirit of moderation seldom found among monarchs habituated to victory. On the 30th of April, the Russian ambassador, in answer to these proposals, demanded, as preliminary conditions, the complete evacuation of the Prussian estates, and all the strong places in Prussia, as they were at the first period of their occupation by the French troops;

the diminution of the garrison of Dantzick, and the evacuation of Swedish Pomerania. Napoleon, supposing the Russian minister had exceeded his instructions, ordered Count Lauriston, his ambassador at Petersburgh, to wait upon the emperor Alexander in person at Wilna; but this sovereign refused to enter into any explanation. Arrived upon the banks of the Niemen, Napoleon sent Count de Narbonne, one of his aids-de-camp, to make a last effort; but this was attended with as little success as the former. War was finally declared: its real motives originated in the influence that the cabinet of St. James had obtained over that of St. Petersburgh, and in the wishes which the latter still indulged, to revenge the humiliation of Russia by the French, in the campaign of 1807.

Napoleon, having repaired to Gumbinnen, quitted it on the 20th of June, when the imperial headquarters were established at Wilkowiszki.

On the 23d of June, 1812, the French army, consisting of three hundred and fifty-five thousand infantry, fifty-nine thousand five hundred cavalry, and nearly twelve hundred pieces of cannon, was in position, and ready to pass the Niemen.

When the French troops arrived on the banks of this river, which, five years before, had been the scene of their victories, they raised shouts of joy. Napoleon, disguised as a chasseur, proceeded to the advanced posts in company with General Haxo, reconnoitred the banks of the river, and gave orders for throwing bridges over it. The pontons were laid at midnight, and at one o'clock the army was on the right bank of the Niemen, and General Fajol took possession of Kowsno without a blow. A few pulks of Cossacks were seen blending with the line

of the horizon, and the French, advancing through Lithuania, arrived at Wilna, where they found its immense magazines in flames, which they extinguished, and saved the greater part of the pro visions.

On the 25th of July, General Nansouty, with the divisions under him, came up with the enemy within two leagues of Ostrowno. The battle commenced; the Russian cavalry, a part of which belonged to the guard, was overthrown. The enemy's batteries were carried by the French cavalry; and the Russian infantry, that advanced to support their artillery, was broken and sabred, and the enemy compelled to retire, after sustaining a considerable loss. On the 26th, in the morning, the army continuing to advance, another obstinate combat took place a league beyond Ostrowno, where the French advanced guard engaged with the corps of Osterman, which was beaten at all points, and forced to retreat.

On the 27th, the French, under Prince Eugene and the king of Naples, attacked the enemy's positions, and he was driven across the plain, beyond a small river which enters the Dwina below Witespk. The army took a position on the banks of this river, a league distant from the town.

The enemy displayed in the plain 15,000 cavalry and 60,000 infantry. A battle was expected next day: the Russians boasted that this was their wish. The emperor spent the night in reconnoitring the field, and in making his dispositions for the next day; but at day-break the Russian army was retreating in all directions towards Smolensk.

On the 28th, at day-break, the French entered Witespk. a town of thirty thousand inhabitants, and

containing twenty convents. Some magazines, particularly one of salt, were found here, of considerable value.

Previously to the arrival of the French troops at Wilna, the roads had been broken up; the men were losing themselves in the mud, and already perishing in the bogs and quagmires of Pultusk from hunger and fatigue. Ten thousand horses died in the course of a few days; the soldiers, continually sliding on the clayey ground, were exhausted in fruitless endeavours to proceed. Unable to keep up, many lagged behind, especially the allies. Many, probably, as well as some of the generals, foresaw that the issue of the war would be disastrous. But after leaving Wilna, the French soldiers that could not keep up with their corps visibly increased; they even encumbered the rear.

In consequence of the wretched state of want, to which the country was reduced by the war, the different corps of the French were allowed to make excursions, to provide for themselves from what they could obtain from the inhabitants. The whole army soon after received an order to furnish themselves with provisions for fifteen days. In executing this, it was impossible to avoid great abuses and enormous dilapidations; the emperor's orders were only executed upon paper, and from that which the military commissioners laid before him, he was made to believe that the army was amply provided with subsistence till the 25th of August, and the march to Smolensk was determined upon. However, at this epoch the French army was already reduced to two thirds of the effective force that passed the river Niemen.

The French army was again put in motion on

the 10th of August, and, having defeated the enemy in several engagements, on the 15th Napoleon had his head-quarters at Korytnia. Lubna was occupied by Marshal Ney. On the 16th, the marshal appeared before Smolensk. The Russians occupied this town to the number of thirty thousand men; the rest were on the other side of the Dnieper, or Borysthenes, with which they had a communication by three bridges above the town. Every thing was disposed to repel the expected attack, and the emperor Alexander had given positive orders to the Russian general to give the French battle, and, if possible, to save Smolensk.

On the 17th, at two in the afternoon, seeing that the enemy obstinately refused to give battle before the town, and that, in opposition to the orders of their sovereign, Barklay's intention was to defend himself within the walls, Napoleon determined upon an attack. He would not lose his time in waiting for a battle, nor weary the patience of his soldiers, whose ardour was extreme, and who, by their usual cries of *Vive l'empereur*, demanded the signal for battle.

At three o'clock the cannonade commenced all along the line: at half past four this was followed by a brisk fire of musketry, and at five all the suburbs were carried with the utmost coolness and intrepidity, and the Russian troops forced into the covered way. On the left, Marshal Ney attacked the position which the enemy had taken out of the town, seized it, and pursued the fugitives to the glacis.

At six o'clock the communication of the town with the right bank became difficult, and could only be accomplished by isolated men. Three breach

ing batteries of twelve pounders were placed against the walls; and the enemy was driven from all the towers by howitzers which played upon them. Two companies of miners were attached to the ramparts. The Russian general, seeing the impossibility of holding out longer, and not willing to expose six divisions of his army to the danger of an assault, took the resolution of evacuating the place. At seven o'clock this movement commenced, and one hour after midnight all the Russian divisions were upon the other side of the Dnieper. At two o'clock the grenadiers, who first mounted the walls, no longer found resistance. The place was evacuated; the victors found there two hundred pieces of cannon. General Korff, who commanded the Russian rear-guard, set fire to several parts of the town, and, when he thought the flames had made sufficient progress, he destroyed the last remaining bridge, and took a position in the suburbs.

The battle of Smolensk cost the Russians upwards of four thousand killed, and seven thousand wounded; two thousand of the latter, left in Smolensk, were made prisoners. The French had twelve hundred killed, and nearly three thousand wounded.

On the 19th, Korff set fire to the four corners of the lower town, which, being built of wood, was entirely consumed. After this the Russian general retired with his rear-guard.

Having re-established the bridges, the French pursued the enemy, whom they overtook at one o'clock. At Valutina Gora, the Russians, to the number of thirty-six thousand, were attacked, and, after a hard fought battle, were obliged to con-

tinue their retreat. They had eight thousand men killed and wounded, including several generals, and one thousand prisoners. The French did not reckon above three thousand men killed and wounded.

Whilst the Russians retreated upon Borodino, the French continued to advance. Napoleon, having organized at Smolensk the second grand depôt, directed his army to Dorogobuj, where he arrived with his guard on the 25th. Two engagements of little consequence occurred on the 26th and 27th: the Russians were beaten. Barklay then fell back upon Viazma; but, not judging his position sufficiently strong, he determined upon taking another near Tzarewow Zalomicth. Here Kutusow took the command of the two armies of the west. The Russian general moved to Borodino on the 1st of September, where, as usual, the Russians began intrenchments, which they generally left incomplete.

The operations of the sixth and tenth corps of the French army, under the duke of Reggio, consisted of the combat of Swolna, the battle of Polotsk, the affairs of Grafenthal, Olai, &c. At Swolna the Russians obtained an advantage on the 10th of August; but this did not prevent the duke from remaining in position till the 13th, when, learning that Wittgenstein had received re-enforcements, he fell back upon Polotsk, and was joined by the sixth corps under Gouvion St. Cyr. On the 17th, the Russians deployed in the plain, and made several vigorous attacks upon the French; but were each time repulsed. The duke of Reggio, badly wounded by a small cannon shot in the shoulder, gave up the command to St. Cyr, who

immediately resolved on resuming the offensive. Before night, Wittgenstein, forced at all points, began his retreat upon Bielaia.

The marshal duke of Tarentum, having razed the fortifications at Dunabourg, abandoned that place, and approached with his right wing to Jakobstadt, whilst a Prussian corps occupying Mittau observed Riga. On the 26th of August, General Lewis was beaten near Grafenthal by the Prussian troops, and on the following day was forced to swim over the Dwina. The Russians were not less unfortunate at Sclock; and the Prussian troops entered into the positions which they occupied before these useless attempts had been made by General Essen, the governor of Riga.

General Rapp was often called upon for reports respecting the affairs of Russia and the army, and especially as to what course Prussia or Germany would adopt in case of the failure of an expedition to the other side of the Niemen; when this general candidly assured Napoleon, that, if he should experience reverses, he might be assured the Prussians and Germans would all rise in a mass to throw off the French yoke; a crusade against France would be set on foot. "All your allies," said he, will abandon you: even the king of Bavaria, on whom you place so much reliance, would join the coalition. I make an exception only in favour of the king of Saxony; he, perhaps, would remain faithful to you; but his subjects would compel him to make common cause with your enemies."

But even from his nearest relatives, Napoleon had received admonitions of a similar kind. His brother Lucien was the most determined opposer of all his ambitious views and plans. One day,

while they were warmly disputing, Lucien drew out his watch, and, dashing it violently on the ground, he addressed to his brother Napoleon these remarkable words: "You will destroy yourself, as I have destroyed that watch; and the time will come, when your family and friends will not know where to shelter their heads."

The French army recommenced its march on the 4th of September, and encamped on the same day at the village of Gridnowo. On the following day, at two in the afternoon, they arrived within sight of the Russians.

The emperor, having reconnoitred the enemy's position, immediately ordered the attack. General Compans advanced upon Alexino, which was carried at two in the afternoon. At the same time, Prince Poniatowsky chased the Russians from the wood of Jelnai. During this time the batteries of a redoubt kept up a murderous fire upon the French masses. General Compans cannonaded this redoubt for a short time, and then advanced with great resolution: the battle became obstinate; the redoubt was taken and retaken three times, but at length remained with the French, who purchased this success with the loss of 1000 men. General Compans afterwards threw another Russian division into disorder, and the combat was over about nine at night. The Russians lost some prisoners and seven pieces of cannon.

The whole of the 6th passed in reconnoitring, and in making preparations on one side and the other.

The continual marches, the want of subsistence, the distance of the French from their reserves, had

reduced the effective number of Napoleon's army equally low as that of the Russians: both might be estimated at one hundred and thirty thousand each. But, though their numerical force might be nearly equal, there was an enormous difference in their moral dispositions. The Russians, for instance, were within twenty-six leagues of their ancient capital, fighting on their own ground; they were abundantly supplied with provisions, and, in case of reverse, a certain retreat was open; new succours awaited them; they had taken up arms to resist the most odious aggression, and they were going to shed their blood for their country, and all that was dear to them. What motives could be more powerful? The French, on the other hand, transported five hundred leagues from their country, to accomplish the designs of a single individual, had been for a long time a prey to the most cruel privations. Even if conquerors, the forces they had before them were not the only ones they had to encounter. Surrounded on all sides by the most cruel enemies, or by allies of a doubtful character, their success, after all, could only lead to a disastrous retreat; but, if conquered, what prospect remained for them but to die in a foreign land, under the torments of famine, or in the anguish of a long slavery! however, they prepared for the combat without either calculating upon the chances of a defeat or the results of victory.

On the 7th, at three o'clock in the morning, the emperor was surrounded by the marshals in the position taken on the preceding evening. At half past five the sun rose without clouds; it had rained the preceding evening. "This is the sun of Aus-

terlitz!" said the emperor. The army accepted the augury; the drum beat, and the following illusory order of the day was read:

"Soldiers! Behold the field of battle you have so much desired! henceforth victory depends on you; it is necessary to us; it will give us plenty; good winter quarters, and a speedy return. Behave yourselves as you did at Austerlitz, at Friedland, at Witespk and Smolensk, that the latest posterity may speak of your conduct this day with pride, and may say of each of you, 'He was at that great battle under the walls of Moscow.'"

The army answered with the repeated acclamations of *Vive l'empereur!* At six in the morning, a cannon-shot from a battery on the right gave the signal for battle.

The obstinacy both of the attack and the defence in the conflict which ensued, rendered it one of the most sanguinary description. More than sixty thousand cannon-shots were discharged on each side. The Russians lost sixty pieces of artillery, and upwards of thirty thousand men killed or wounded, including thirty-five generals: two generals were taken, with five thousand prisoners.

On the part of the French, the loss was not less than twenty thousand men killed and wounded. The generals of division, Montbrun and Caulincourt, the generals of brigade, Plauzonne, Huard, Compere, Marion, and Lepel, were killed; and among the wounded generals were Nansouty, Grouchy, Rapp, Compans, Dessaix, Morand, La houssaye, and others.

Such was the issue of the battle to which Napoleon gave the name of Moskwa, or Mojaisk, and

the Russians that of Borodino, as this village was the centre of their position.

Kutusow, in the night following the battle, made a precipitate retreat towards Moscow, preceded by a convoy of twenty thousand wounded, and arrived under the walls of that city on the 13th, which he entered on the 14th, and passed through, taking the route to Kolumna. He was followed by Rostopchin and the authorities of the place. The determination to sacrifice Moscow had evidently been adopted a considerable time, though carefully concealed from the greatest number of its unhappy inhabitants. The departure of Kutusow and his army was the signal for the burning of the ancient capital of the czars.

On the 14th, about noon, the king of Naples entered Moscow: arrived near the Kremlin, the French troops were received with a warm fire of musketry from the ramparts: this was given by a handful of the wretched inhabitants, who, in their despair, imagined they could arrest the progress of the French army. The gates of the Kremlin were soon forced, and the feeble defenders of the palace dispersed. Then the king of Naples traversed the city, and passed out of the barrier of Kolumna. The emperor entered on the same day, and was lodged at the Kremlin, around which the imperial guard established itself.

Of the burning of Moscow, Napoleon gave the following account: "We were in hopes of enjoying ourselves in winter-quarters, with every prospect of success in the spring. Two days after our arrival, a fire was discovered, which created very little alarm, as it was supposed to have been caused by the soldiers making their fires too near the houses."

This increased the next day, and on the third day Napoleon went in person to give orders as to the means of stopping its progress. On the fourth day, in the morning, a violent wind caused the flames to spread with the greatest rapidity. Some hundreds of Russians had disposed themselves in different parts of Moscow, and, concealing matches under their cloaks, set fire to as many wooden houses to windward as they could. Every effort to extinguish the fire was now ineffectual. Napoleon, intending to show an example, ventured into the midst of the flames, but had his hair and eye-brows singed, his clothes burnt off his back, and narrowly escaped with his life. He said he was prepared for every thing but this terrible conflagration, which ruined all. Several of the inhabitants perished in their endeavours to stop this calamity, and brought numbers of the incendiaries with their matches before the French, who had about two hundred of them shot. Napoleon owned that he was five days too late in quitting Moscow, and that several of his generals were burnt out of their beds. He himself remained in the Kremlin till it was surrounded by flames. He then retired to a country-house of Alexander's, about a league from Moscow, where the heat was so intense, that persons could scarcely bear their hands upon the walls and windows on the side next Moscow. "It was," he said, "the spectacle of a sea and billows of fire, a sky and clouds of flame; mountains of red rolling flames, like immense waves of the sea, alternately bursting forth and elevating themselves to skies of fire, and then sinking into the ocean of flame below. Oh, it was the most grand, the most sublime, the most terrific sight the world ever beheld!!"

To the premature cold, and the burning of Moscow, Napoleon attributed his failure in Russia.

Napoleon indulged the hope that Russia, discouraged by the loss of its ancient capital, and the successive defeats she had sustained, would not now refuse to enter into negotiations to establish the bases of a solid and durable peace. The emperor made choice of General Lauriston, his late ambassador to the court of Petersburgh, to be the bearer of such as he deemed moderate propositions, considering the critical circumstances in which Russia was placed. General Lauriston arrived at Kutusow's head-quarters. A suspension of arms was agreed to, which would require three hours' notice previous to the recommencement of hostilities. Alexander's known generosity and humanity would probably have at once decided upon putting a stop to the effusion of blood; but he yielded to the predominant sense of his own people and the counsels of his allies, which were in favour of prosecuting the war.

Here we must necessarily pass over the operations under Marshal Macdonald in Eastern Prussia, and those of other corps in Lithuania, upon the Bug; those of the prince of Schwartzenberg, &c. in which Napoleon was not personally concerned.

The suspension of arms continued till the 17th of October, when several corps of the Russian army approached the advanced posts of the king of Naples, and took a position on the banks of the Nara. Bennigsen, who commanded them, passed the river at midnight, and advanced in three columns upon the high road to Moscow. In the battle of Winkowo, that followed, both sides fought with the

greatest fury: the French lost more than two thousand men.

The French army, now reduced to less than half of its original number, did not reckon more than a hundred thousand men in its ranks, who were diminishing every day through sickness and want. The most numerous regiments of cavalry had not more than a hundred horses, and the audacity of the Cossacks hourly increased. Napoleon was therefore induced to quit Moscow, for the purpose of seeking a more advantageous position in a country from whence some resources might probably be drawn.

The battle of Malo Jaroslawitz was fought on the 24th and 25th of October, and was ranked among the most brilliant exploits of the campaign. The Russians had between eight and ten thousand men killed and wounded, and the French lost four thousand. In the battle of Viazma, that followed soon after, the French lost four thousand men.

When the French army had reached Dorogubuj, the cold began to set in; the ground was covered with a deep snow; ditches, roads, and fields soon disappeared, and the soldier had no other track to follow than the heaps, formed in the snow, of the innumerable bodies of those who had preceded him. Those who had thrown away the arms which their frozen members would not permit them to carry, wandered they knew not whither; they frequently expired with cold and misery in sight of their comrades, who never approached them but to seize upon any thing they had about them. The fate of those who had retained their arms was not less severe: they were compelled to be continually on the alert to repulse the clouds of Cossacks that

hovered about them, and who, though dispersed by the firing of a few muskets, would return the moment after.

Napoleon acknowledged, that, on his retreat from Moscow, the thermometer fell eighteen degrees. In one night the French lost thirty thousand horses; neither ammunition nor provisions could be carried, and the artillery, amounting to about five hundred pieces, was nearly abandoned. The soldiers, he said, lost their spirits and their senses, and fell into confusion. Four or five Russians were sufficient to terrify a whole battalion. Parties sent out on duty in advance, instead of keeping together, wandered about in search of fire, or got into the houses to warm themselves, and fell an easy prey to the enemy. Others lay down, fell asleep; a little blood came from their nostrils, and they died.

But, notwithstanding the unheard-of distresses that continually weighed upon the French army, they still continued to consider Napoleon as the *palladium* that was to save them. His presence frequently electrified the most dejected; the sight of their sovereign marching with them on foot, and cheerfully partaking of all their privations, seldom failed to excite a momentary enthusiasm similar to that of the days of victory.

The retreat of the French army may be said to have been begun on the 19th, for on the 23d Napoleon himself was at Borosk, by what he called a flank movement.

To follow Napoleon and the various divisions of his army, step by step throughout the whole of their manifold sufferings, would fill a volume; suffice it to state, that early in November the viceroy Beau-

harrois, with his division, was driven upon Smolensk. About the 9th of November, Napoleon himself arrived at Smolensk, where he fixed his head-quarters, but could not muster more than sixty thousand men, though he left Moscow with eighty thousand at least. On the 13th he continued his retreat

The rapidity of Napoleon's flight enabled him to reach Orcha in sufficient time to allow of his halting till the 20th, whilst some of the divisions of his army were concentrating upon his line of retreat.

Napoleon arrived at the river Berezina with his army in two distinct bodies, but found all the bridges broken down. Whilst the French were endeavouring to construct a temporary bridge for the occasion, the Russian General Wittgenstein had ordered Platoff to push forward towards Bernsoff, whilst he himself, about the 26th, advanced towards Vesselovo and Studentze, where Napoleon was erecting two bridges. Studentze was first attacked and carried, and the whole of the French troops made prisoners. When it was ascertained that Napoleon was not there, Platoff was sent across the river to join Tchitchagoff, whilst Wittgenstein proceeded towards Vesselovo. But the moment that Napoleon's bridge in this quarter was passable, he ordered over a sufficient number of his guards to ensure his safety, and then passing it with his principal officers, he was followed by a promiscuous crowd of soldiers, who succeeded in such numbers, that the way was soon choked up so completely as to preclude all order or progress. In this situation, the Russians arrived; when hundreds of the French threw themselves into the river, and the whole scene became that of the most tumultuous horror. Besides, as orders were given

to set fire to the bridge, great numbers fell a sacrifice to this dreadful manœuvre. It undoubtedly ensured Napoleon's personal escape, but it threw the whole of the army on the other side into the hands of the Russians.

All these misfortunes were followed by the known retreat of the Austrian prince Schwartzenberg, the treason of the Prussian general D'Yorck, and the defection of General Meissenbach, whilst the duke of Tarentum, with the wretched remains of one of the French corps in a most distressed condition, shut themselves up in Dantzick, which was soon after strictly blockaded by the Russians.

On the 5th of December, the head-quarters were at Smorgoni: in this village, after the emperor had called a council, consisting of the king of Naples, the viceroy, and the principal generals, he determined to return to France to create new resources. The king of Naples, nominated his lieutenant-general, took the command of the army. All the generals agreed in the propriety of the emperor's immediate return to France.

The French army had not been collected at Wilna twelve hours before the enemy's cannon was heard. As soon as the Russian corps had formed, they attacked General Loison's corps, who, notwithstanding, succeeded in covering the march of a column of the fifth corps, consisting of Poles, unarmed men, and stragglers. About three in the morning, the last of the French that could move left Wilna. At five, after a most painful march, they reached the mountain of Vaka, scarcely a league from Wilna, which being covered with ice, rendered it impossible for the carriages to pass, by preventing the horses from obtaining any foot-hold

As this eminence could not be turned, it was found necessary to abandon the baggage, and the imperial treasure, containing upwards of five millions in gold and silver.

However afflicting the following details may be, we cannot consistently dispense with retracing the picture at this time presented by the greatest part of the French army before and after its arrival upon the Berezina. Generals, officers, and soldiers, were all in the same condition, confounded one with another. Cavalry, infantry, and artillery, mixed together, and got on as well as they could. Most of them carried on their shoulders a bag of meal, whilst a pot hung from their sides, attached to a cord. Others proceeded, holding the bridles of their starved horses, carrying their kitchen materials, and sometimes the remains of their wretched provision. The horses themselves were the best provisions this army had; for when they fell down quite exhausted, they became food for their masters, who seldom suffered the breath to go out of the body before they tore the flesh from them with the utmost greediness. As almost every corps in the army was in a state of dissolution, a number of little bodies were formed out of the wrecks of the regiments, consisting of eight or ten individuals, who agreed to march together, and amongst whom what they had was shared in common. Some of these had a horse among them to carry their baggage or cooking utensils, besides which every member had his wallet. The little communities, entirely separated from the mass, were unanimous in repulsing any unhappy individual who might wish to join them. Each of these companies marched as closely as possible, and they took the

greatest care not to be separated from each other. Wo to any one who had lost his party! No one would take the least interest in his case, or show him any favour; on the contrary, such persons were ill-treated, or driven away even from the fires lighted on the route, or any other place of refuge; and, in fact, never ceased to be objects of persecution till they found their own party, or perished for want. Let the reader, if possible, figure to himself sixty thousand of these unfortunate beings, each with his wallet on his shoulders, walking with sticks to support them; their bodies covered with rags of all colours, swarming with vermin, and delivered up to all the horrors of famine. Let us figure to ourselves these pale beings, or rather spectres, covered with dirt, and blackened by the smoke of the *bivouacks*, or night fires, with long beards, hollow eyes, and dishevelled hair, and, after all, we shall have only a faint picture of this wretched army.

Here were some, quite undermined by the long duration of their diseases and by famine, sunk under the weight of their misfortunes; there were others attacking a miserable straggler, who was supposed to have some provision about him, in spite of his resistance or horrid imprecations. On one side might be heard the noise made by the horses and carriages crushing the bones of bodies whose flesh had been stripped before: on the other, the cries and groans of those victims, whose strength having quite failed, they had lain down and given themselves up to death. Farther on, groups might be seen collected round a dead horse, and fighting for the remnants into which it had been cut; whilst others, thrusting their hands into the carcass, tore

out the heart and entrails. Even night-fall only brought with it a temporary and precarious interval of sleep, from which it was the fortune of many never more to awaken.

At night, it was the care of every one, however exhausted, to find some kind of lodging, at least a shelter from the weather, and the keen biting of the north-east wind. Of course houses, barns, sheds, &c., were soon filled in such a manner that it was with difficulty that any one could enter in or out. Such as could gain no admittance into these places took up their abode behind walls, or any sort of shelter. The first duty was to procure wood and straw for their bivouacks; for this purpose they scaled the houses, carrying away the roofs, and, if these were not sufficient, the joists and the girders, the partitions, or the house altogether, in spite of those who might attempt to resist this violence; and if the first possessor maintained his ground, it was at the hazard of being burnt to death.

It was impossible to get water, as both ponds and marshes were continually frozen; and to make their *bouillé*, they used to melt a sufficient quantity of snow in a pot, and dilute it as well as they could; but, after all, it was black and muddy. When it was thickened with such meal as they had, as salt could not be obtained, in the room of this they threw in two or three cartridges, which at least gave the mess some kind of taste, though it increased the colour to a deep black. The repast upon this and the broiled slices of horse-flesh being finished, each guest placed himself round the fire, and sought in sleep for some mitigation of his misery.

When Napoleon arrived at Warsaw, on the 10th of December, instead of proceeding to the palace

he put up at the hotel d'Angleterre, from whence M. Caulincourt was despatched to summon the ap pearance of the Abbé de Pradt, the ambassador to Poland.

"I hurried out," says De Pradt, "and arrived at the hotel about half past one o'clock. A few Polish *gens d'armes* guarded the gate; the master of the hotel examined me, hesitated a little, and then allowed me to pass. I saw a small carriage body placed on a sledge made of four pieces of fir; it had stood some crashes, and was much damaged. Two open sledges there had served for the conveyance of General Lefebvre Desnouettes, another officer, the Mameluke Roustan, and a valet. This was all that remained of so much grandeur and magnificence. I thought I beheld the winding-sheet carried before the great Saladin. The door of a room on the ground-floor was mysteriously opened. A short parley took place: the duke of Vicenza came, introduced me to the emperor, and left me with him. He was in a cold, small, lower apartment, and had the window-shutters half closed, the better to conceal his *incognito*. An awkward Polish servant continued blowing a fire of green wood, which, resisting her efforts, diffused far more water over the stove than heat in the apartment. The emperor, according to his custom, was walking about, wrapped up in a superb pelisse, lined with green, and with magnificent gold brandenburghs. He had on a kind of fur cap, and his boots were also surrounded with fur. 'Ah, monsieur the ambassador,' said he, smiling—I approached, and addressed him thus: 'You look well: you have made me very uneasy; but at length you are here: I am happy to see you.'—'How are you off in this

country ?' said he. I described to him the actual state of the dutchy, spoke to him of the distress of the Poles. He asked with vivacity, 'Who has ruined them?' I replied, 'What has been doing for these six years: the scarcity of last year, and the continental system, deprive them of all commerce.' At these words his eyes were lighted up. He proceeded—'Where are the Russians ?' I told him—'And the Austrians ?'—'I have not heard of them for a fortnight.'—'General Reynier ?'—'Nor of him neither.'—I spoke to him of the Polish army. 'I have seen none of them,' said he, 'during the campaign.'—I explained the reason of that, and why the dispersion of the Polish forces had at last rendered an army of eighty-two thousand men invisible. He said, 'We must raise ten thousand Cossacks: a lance and a horse are sufficient for them—with that force the Russians may be stopped.'

"We met again at the hotel d'Angleterre at three o'clock; he had just risen from table.—'How long have I been in Warsaw ?—Eight days—No, only two hours;' said he, smiling, without any preamble or preparation—'*from the sublime to the ridiculous there is but a step.*' In the course of this conversation he said, 'Agitation is life to me: the more trouble I have the better I am. None but sluggard kings fatten in their palaces. Horseback and camps for me.—You are very much alarmed here.'—'It is because we only know what public rumour informs us.'—'Bah! the army is superb. I have 120,000 men: I always beat the Russians. I am going to raise three hundred thousand men. Success will render the Russians rash. I shall give them three or four battles on

the Oder, and in six months I shall be again on the Niemen. All that has happened is nothing; it is a misfortune; it is the effect of climate. The enemy is good for nothing: I beat him every where. They wished to cut me off at the Berezina—I laughed at that fool of an admiral Tchitzchagoff.' "

From Warsaw Napoleon took his route to Dresden, and then, travelling rapidly by way of Leipsig and Mentz, arrived at Paris about the 18th of December, which city he chose to enter about midnight.

On the 20th, being seated on his throne, he received an address from the senate, equally as adulatory as if he had terminated a successful campaign. His answer seemed to allude to a plan which had taken place at Paris in the month of October, the object of which was to bring about a revolution, but failed through the folly or treachery of those concerned. He was well acquainted with the discontent that prevailed: however, he ventured to close the memorable year of 1812 with public declarations to France and to the world, that he was determined to persist in his plans for the completion of the continental system, and that his hopes and presages of the ensuing year were founded upon principles as unshaken as his own dynasty. However, what had been foreseen by almost every person of discernment except Napoleon, soon followed, viz. an alliance against France between Prussia, Russia, and Austria. Thus a new political vortex was created, into which all the lesser princes on the continent were inevitably drawn, with the exception of the king of Saxony, who ultimately paid dearly for his unfortunate attachment to the fallen hero of the age.

CHAPTER VIII.

Proclamation of Louis XVIII.—Assembly of the French Legislature—The Tugenbund, *or German League of Virtue—Marie Louise constituted Regent of France—Departure of Napoleon for the Army—Opening of the Campaign in Saxony—Death of Marshal Bessieres—Battles of Lutzen, Wurtchen, Bautzen, Reichenbach—Death of Marshal Duroc, &c.—Armistice—Desertion of the French General Jomini—Battle of Dresden—Death of General Moreau—Recommencement of Hostilities—Affair of the Katzbach; of Waschau—Battle of Leipsig—Blowing up of the Bridge over the Elster—Prince Poniatowsky, &c. drowned—Retreat of the French—Battle of Hanau—The French repass the Rhine—The Allies enter France—Language of Napoleon in the Senate.*

NAPOLEON having good reason to apprehend that the friends of the exiled royal family entertained some hopes of their restoration, his fears were much increased by a proclamation of Louis XVIII., issued from his residence in England on the 1st of February, 1813. To guard against the effects of this proclamation, which had made a great impression, Napoleon ordered a grand assembly of the legislature on the 14th of February, when he made a most pompous display of his imperial greatness, and again told them that England was disturbing his conquests and the peace of the continent. Among other matters, they were informed, that as long as the maritime war lasted, so long must his people make all kinds of sacrifices.

Affairs soon began to press upon Napoleon; all Germany, united by the *Tugenbund*, or League of Virtue, was now in motion. The crown prince of Sweden was daily expected in Pomerania, where he was to act against the French; and Austria, in

arms, was ready to adopt a decided part, which Napoleon had much reason to believe would not be in his favour; so that nothing remained for him but immediate action.

On the 15th of April, he left Paris, having previously constituted Marie Louise empress regent of France. On the 16th, he passed through Metz, where he remained organizing his forces till the evening of the 24th, and put himself upon the road for the armies on the Saale; he travelled with his usual rapidity, and on the 27th was at the head of his forces at Naumburg on that river.

Several affairs of minor importance preceded the celebrated battle of Lutzen; the former occurred at Wettin, Halle, Mersburg Weissenfels, and other places in the neighbourhood of the Elbe. In passing the defile of Poserna on the 1st of May, the action on both sides cost but a few men; but the French had to regret the loss of Marshal Bessieres, who, reconnoitring the plain near the village of Rippach, had his wrist cut off by a bullet, which entering his breast, he fell dead.

In the battle of Lutzen, fought on the 2d of May, eighty-four thousand infantry beat one hundred and seven thousand Russians or Prussians, with more than twenty thousand cavalry. Alexander and the king of Prussia witnessed the conflict in person. The allies lost eighteen thousand men. The loss of the French was twelve thousand, and their want of cavalry prevented them from reaping the usual fruits of their conquests.

On the evening of the battle, Napoleon said to the generals that were about him, "During seventeen years that I have commanded the French armies, I have never witnessed more bravery or

devotion." And yet the veterans of Austerlitz, of Jena, Friedland, Wagram, &c. had almost all disappeared from the ranks, and the honour of those eagles, so long victorious, had been committed to young conscripts, who had scarcely learned their exercise, and were by no means habituated to the fatigues of war.

On the 9th, Napoleon entered Dresden as a conqueror, conducting back to his capital the king of Saxony.

On the 21st and 22d, Napoleon again triumphed at Wurtchen and Bautzen. The allies had chosen that ground, which the brilliant campaigns of Frederick the Great had rendered classic.

In the battle of Reichenbach, on the 22d of May, General Bruyeres, an officer of cavalry highly distinguished, had both his legs carried off by a cannon-shot. About the end of the action, Marshal Duroc was also struck by a cannon-ball, and he did not survive more than twelve hours. During the march from Reichenbach to Gorlitz, Napoleon stopped at Makersdorf, and showed the king of Naples where Duroc fell. He summoned to his presence the proprietor of the little farm on which the grand marshal died, and made over to him the sum of 20,000 francs ; 4000 of which were for a monument in honour of the deceased, and 16,000 for the proprietor of the house and his wife.

On the 4th of June, the armistice of Pleissvitz was entered into. It was maintained for nearly three months, and proved advantageous only to the allies. Austria, requiring delay, obtained it ; the Russians, who were waiting for re-enforcements, received them ; the Prussians doubled their numbers ; the English subsidies arrived, and the

Swedish army joined the allies. The defection of the cabinets of the Rhenish confederation, and the corruption of the allied officers, were successfully effected. Treason also began to creep into the superior ranks. General Jomini, the chief of the staff of one of the French corps, went over to the enemy with all the information he had been able to collect respecting the plans of the campaign.

The hostile powers again presented themselves on the field of battle. The French had now a force of 300,000 men, of which 40,000 men were cavalry, on the left bank of the Elbe; and the allies had 500,000, of which 100,000 were cavalry, which then threatened Dresden from three different directions, from Berlin, Silesia, and Bohemia. This prodigious disproportion had no effect on Napoleon; he concentrated his forces, and boldly assumed the offensive.

The emperor, who had already made a rapid movement against Blucher, was suddenly called away for the defence of Dresden, where 65,000 French troops found themselves opposed to 180,000 of the allied forces. Prince Schwartzenberg, the general in chief, had, on the 26th of August, made a faint attack upon Dresden, being urged to take this step by the deserter Jomini, who so well understood the real state of things. Napoleon came up, with his usual rapidity, with 100,000 French troops. The affair was not long doubtful, and the enemy was overwhelmed: he lost 40,000 men, and was for some time threatened with total destruction. The emperor Alexander was present at the battle. Napoleon observing at the distance of about 500 yards a group of persons on horseback, and being resolved to disturb them, he ordered a captain of

artillery to throw a dozen of bullets amongst them at once. One of these balls struck Moreau, who had then joined the Russians, carried off both his legs, and went through his horse. A moment before, Alexander had been speaking to him. It was not a little singular, that in an action a short time after, Napoleon ordered the same artillery officer to throw eighteen or twenty bullets at once into a concourse of officers collected together, by which General St. Priest, another royalist, a Frenchman, and a man of talent, who had a command in the Russian army, was killed, along with many others. Moreau survived his misfortune but a few hours.

The happy chance so anxiously looked for by Napoleon, which was expected to re-establish his affairs, procure peace, and to save France, had at length arrived. Accordingly, on the ensuing day, Austria despatched an agent to the emperor, with amicable propositions. But, such is the uncertainty of human destiny, from that moment, by an unexampled fatality, Napoleon had to encounter a chain of disasters. At every point, except that at which he was himself present, the French sustained reverses.

A retrospective view of this important campaign will show, that many unfair advantages had been taken by the allies. The armistice concluded on the 4th of June, and prolonged till the 10th of August, was on that day declared at an end by the ministers of the allied powers. At the same time the emperor of Austria's declaration of war against Napoleon appeared. Hostilities were not, according to the convention, to have commenced till the 16th of August; but the allies, under the pretext of some improper conduct towards Lutzow, a chief

of the partisans in the environs of Leipsig, did not wait for the expiration of this period. Their troops were put in motion on the 14th, and Breslau, the capital of Silesia, was occupied by General Sacken. On the following day, Blucher invaded the territory declared neuter, and established his head-quarters at Jauer. His design was to attack the French positions upon the Katzbach; but these were abandoned in the night between the 17th and 18th. On the evening of this day, a regiment of Westphalian hussars went over to the enemy, and thus gave the signal to the rest of the German troops, upon whom the *Tugenbund* had begun to exercise its influence. Three days' fighting, on the 21st, 22d, and 23d of August, cost the enemy about seven thousand killed, wounded and prisoners; the French lost more than five thousand.

The battle of Katzbach took place on the 26th, in which Marshal Macdonald lost about 10,000 men killed and wounded, with 15,000 prisoners, and thirty pieces of cannon. Blucher and his army passed the Katzbach on the 28th of August; on the first of September he traversed the Bober; and on the second he was at Lauban. The victory of Katzbach procured for this brave general the title of prince. The conduct of Marshal Macdonald, in hazarding a battle in the most unfavourable situation, a kind of *cul de sac*, was severely condemned. The battle of Dresden, that followed, and that of Kulm, in which Vandamme was totally defeated, strongly tended to hasten the catastrophe that awaited all Napoleon's plans. The affair of Kulm cost the French more than 10,000 men, besides a number of prisoners, including Vandamme, the

generals Haxo and Guyot, and thirty pieces of cannon.

In the neighbourhood of Berlin, the same ill success attended the French as had taken place in Silesia and in Saxony: the affairs of Gros Beeren and Lubnitz, though to the disadvantage of the French, were not so sanguinary as some of the preceding.

The conduct of the duke of Reggio, who had been sent against the prince royal of Sweden, having destroyed all Napoleon's hopes, he was removed, and the command given to the prince of the Moskwa, who, being ordered to move forward immediately, arrived at his new post on the 4th of September. In the battle of Juterbok, that took place on the 6th, two Saxon divisions went over to the enemy. The loss of the French, on this occasion, was 10,000 killed, wounded, or prisoners, with twenty pieces of cannon, and several caissons. On the 26th, another Saxon battalion, with its arms and baggage, deserted to the enemy near Rosslau, from which place, and at Acken, the prince royal of Sweden threw bridges over the Elbe. On the 14th of October, Napoleon learned that Bavaria had declared war against him; the Danes had also been compelled to join the allies.

Previous to the 16th of October, the French army assembled in the environs of Leipsig consisted of 134,000 infantry and 22,000 cavalry. The troops of the allies, divided into four armies, presented a total of 349,000 combatants, including 54,000 cavalry.

The battle of Wachau, fought on the 16th, was claimed by both parties. The allies pleaded, that

they were outnumbered by the French; but the fact is, the French had no more than 50,000 men engaged in the plain, whilst the allies had 75,000.

The battle of Leipsig took place on the 18th of October. This sanguinary and hard-fought conflict was distinguished by another desertion of the Saxon artillery over to the enemy, and by the introduction of the Congreve rockets, which were sent into the field by the prince royal of Sweden; but all the exertions of Napoleon and his faithful generals ended in a retreat, partly occasioned by a want of ammunition; as, in the course of five days, they had fired more than 250,000 shots, and had not sufficient to have continued the fire two hours longer. As the nearest reserves were at Magdeburg and at Erfurt, the emperor determined to march for the latter In the evening of the 18th, the parks of artillery defiled through Lindenau towards Lutzen. At day-light the third and fifth corps, that of the duke of Castiglione, and the five corps of cavalry, had repassed the Elster; but the execution of this retreating movement was attended with great difficulties. The defile, two leagues in extent, from Leipsig to Lindenau, is traversed by five or six bridges. It had been proposed to Napoleon to place 6000 men and sixty pieces of cannon upon the ramparts of Leipsig, and to occupy this town as the head of the defile, and to burn the suburbs, for the purpose of preventing the enemy from receiving shelter, as well as to give a scope to the French artillery. But Napoleon would not consent to the destruction of one of the finest cities in Saxony, though it might have saved more than 15,000 of the French army, and a numerous artil-

lery. On the 19th, at day-break, the enemy's generals, having learned that the French were retreating, put their masses in motion, and the whole of the combined army marched towards Leipsig. The emperor Alexander and the king of Prussia having rejoined the army, a deputation was sent from the place, begging them to spare the inhabitants. This demand was rejected; and a flag of truce from the duke of Tarentum did not succeed any better. Before the action commenced, Blucher made a ridiculous proposal to the French army to lay down their arms. About eight o'clock the coalized columns were before the suburbs, and General Sacken attacked the front of that called Halle, which failing, the corps of Langeron advanced to support it, and was also repulsed. The regiment of Archangel was almost destroyed. At length, about ten o'clock, several of the suburbs having been forced, Napoleon mounted his horse, and went to take leave of the king of Saxony; but, before he could get out of the place, he was obliged to proceed along the boulevards on the west for a considerable time, before he could gain the heights of Lutzen. At this instant the gates of Halle and Grimma were forced, and that of St. Peter delivered up to the Austrians by the troops of Baden; whilst, from the ramparts and the tops of the houses, the Saxon troops in the town began to fire upon the French, who only yielded inch by inch. In the meanwhile, the tiralleurs of the corps of Langeron having slipped along the Elster, as far as the bridge by which the French army was defiling, a corporal belonging to the engineers, thinking that the time was come for blowing up the bridge, immediately set a light to the train; by which act

the retreat of all the troops upon the boulevards and the fauxbourgs was cut off. Despair immediately seized those unfortunate warriors · the bravest only thought of selling their lives as dearly as possible, and burying themselves under the ruins of the place. Others endeavoured to swim across the Pleisse and the Elster. The duke of Tarentum forded it. Marshal Prince Poniatowsky, already wounded, drowned himself in the latter, as did also General Dumoutier. Prince Poniatowsky had previously forded the Pleisse, leaving his horse behind him; but, arriving upon the Elster, which was already lined by Saxon and Prussian riflemen, he plunged into the river, and instantly sunk, together with his horse.

Towards ten o'clock the battle was over at Leipsig. The loss of the French, from the 16th to the 19th of October, amounted to twenty thousand killed, and thirty thousand prisoners, including about twenty-two thousand sick and wounded, incapable of being moved out of the hospitals of Leipsig. A hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, and more than five hundred carriages, fell into the hands of the enemy. Among the prisoners, the allies included the king of Saxony.

On the 20th, the remains of the French army had arrived at Weissenfels, on its way to Erfurt: during its march to this place, all the troops of the confederation of the Rhine that were left deserted.

At Schluchtern, where the French army arrived on the 28th, Napoleon first received positive intelligence of the movements of the Austro-Bavarian army under General Wrede, which led to the battle of Hanau. On the morning of the 30th, the emperor arrived within a league of the town, at the

head of the whole imperial guard, and large bodies of tiralleurs, amounting altogether, it is said, to a force of about sixty thousand men, twelve thousand being cavalry; although the bulletin of the grand army speaks of this important force as follows: "We have only had actually engaged 5000 tiralleurs, four battalions of the old guard, and about 80 squadrons of cavalry, with 120 pieces of cannon!"

Napoleon took up an admirable position in the skirts of the Lamboy forest. The battle commenced at ten in the morning, and raged with various success during the day—the tide of victory rolling backwards and forwards from the town to the forest, and from the forest to the town, as the French drove back the Germans into the very suburbs, and entered in pursuit of them, burning and laying waste the streets; or as the Germans again forced back their enemies into the shelter of the thick forest. Napoleon bivouacked with his suite in the forest during the night of the 30th.

On the 2d of November, the emperor quitted Frankfort; and on the same day, the whole of the French army repassed the Rhine.

The Austro-Bavarians were at Frankfort on the 4th, and Napoleon arrived at Paris on the 9th of November.

Whilst these movements took place, the grand army, combined with that of Silesia, continued to advance towards the Rhine. The emperor Alexander entered Frankfort on the 5th of December, at the head of twenty thousand horse. On the same day, Prince Schwartzenberg forced the passage of the Nidda, and arrived within two leagues of Mentz, and fixed his head-quarters at Hochst:

Blucher's were at Giessen. Hocheim and Hom were taken on the 9th.

After these movements, the coalized sovereigns resolved to suspend their operations upon the Upper Rhine, in order to pursue their invasion of France. In the course of November, the allies were masters of all the dutchy of Berg; and the army of the north occupied Hanover, where the prince royal of Sweden had his head-quarters. Winzingerode occupied Oldenburg and East Friesland; and Bulow was proceeding to Holland, to organize the insurrection that soon followed, after both shores of the Elbe had been cleared of the enemy. Dresden was surrendered by General Gouvion St. Cyr in the course of November; and the capitulation of Stettin, Torgau, Zamosc, and Modlin, increased the courage of the enemy, and added to the depression of the French. Dantzick, so bravely defended by General Rapp and his troops during a siege and blockade of many months, capitulated on the 4th of December, with the duke of Wirtemburg.

Thus, at the end of the campaign, the French had not a single garrison beyond the Rhine, excepting at Hamburgh, Magdeburg, Custrin, Wittenberg, Glogau, and the citadels of Wurtzburg and Erfurt.

Affairs in Spain and Italy, this year, were equally as disastrous as they had been where Napoleon was present. The results of Lord Wellington's victories were the driving of the whole French army, beaten and dispirited, within their intrenchments close under the guns of Bayonne.

Napoleon stated in an address to the French legislative body, that brilliant victories had crowned

the French arms during this campaign; but defections without example had rendered these victories nugatory. Negotiations, he said, had commenced with the combined powers. He had agreed to the preliminary bases they had offered. He had hopes, that, before the present assembly had met, a congress at Manheim would have been convened; but new delays, which were not attributable to France, had occurred.

CHAPTER IX.

Napoleon's Address to the National Guard—Departure for the Army—Strength of the French Forces and those of the Allies—Battle of Brienne—Affair of La Rothiere—Retreat of Napoleon to Sezanne—Battle of Champ Aubert—Montmirail—Montereau—Affairs of Chateau-Thierry and Vauchamps—Unsuccessful Attacks on Laon—Murat declares for the Allies—Congress at Chatillon—Restoration of the Pope's Territory—Gallant Defence of Soissons—Battle of Fere Champenoise—Entrance of the Allies into Paris—Abdication of Napoleon—His Departure from Fontainebleau, and Arrival at Frejus—Embarkation, and Reception in the Isle of Elba—Anecdotes.

On the 23d of January, 1814, the officers of the national guard at Paris, in number eight hundred, were presented to the emperor in the saloon of marshals, on which occasion, when his majesty passed on his way to mass, and, on his return, he was saluted with the unanimous cries of *Vive l'empereur!* The officers divided into legions, and formed a vast circle, in the midst of which the emperor placed himself. Then appeared a scene the most affecting, the most sublime. The emperor told them that a part of the French territory was invaded; that he was going to place himself at the head of his army, and that he hoped, with the assistance of God, and the valour of his troops, to repulse the enemy beyond the frontiers. At this moment his looks were tenderly fixed upon the empress and the king of Rome, whom his august mother carried in her arms; and his majesty added, in a tremulous voice, that he confided his wife and his son to the love of his faithful city of Paris. At that instant a thousand voices resounded a thou-

sand arms were raised, swearing to defend the precious trust confided to a faithful people.

Napoleon left Paris on the 25th of January, and arrived at Chalons on the following day. His army at this period, far from presenting a specimen of those numerous and formidable masses with which France had so often overawed the sovereigns of Europe, consisted of only five corps, almost disorganized, and scarcely amounting to sixty thousand men. It was with these feeble forces that the conqueror of Arcole, Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena, undertook to struggle, often with success, and never without glory, against three armies, consisting of three hundred thousand fighting men.

The communication between the armies of Blucher and Prince Schwartzenberg had not been yet completed. Napoleon wished to avail himself of this circumstance to combat them singly. A despatch sent to the duke of Trevisa to effect his junction with Napoleon, was taken by Blucher, by which he was timely warned of the danger he was exposed to. Previous to the battle of Brienne, fought on the 29th of January, the march of the French infantry had been retarded, and the men considerably fatigued by the bad weather and the heaviness of the roads. The sanguinary action that followed, fought almost from house to house, commenced about noon, and continued till half after eleven at night, when Blucher ordered the corps of General Sacken, together with the cavalry of General Pahlen, to retire in silence upon the route of Bar-sur-Aube, till, wearied with fatigue, both parties ceased firing. The French remained in possession of the castle of Brienne, and the light troops retained the greatest part of the town

Napoleon fixed his head-quarters at Perthes. It is remarkable, that both Blucher and Napoleon were nearly made prisoners during the battle of Brienne; the former when the French first obtained possession of the castle. About three o'clock on the same day, as Napoleon was coming out of the wood of Valantigny with a very small escort, he was assailed by the Cossacks, one of whom aimed a thrust at him with his lance, but was prevented in his design by General Gorgaud, who killed the offender. The emperor would nevertheless have been made prisoner, if Meunier's division had not come to his assistance.

On the 1st of February, the French at La Rothiere being attacked at three points, their right and left resisted nobly, but their centre was broken, whilst a secondary attack, made by General Wrede upon the duke of Ragusa, obliged him to retire with loss. The French, on this unfortunate day, lost fifty-four pieces of cannon, and six thousand men, including two thousand four hundred prisoners.

Added to this afflicting state of affairs, the news was received of the defection of Murat, the king of Naples.

Napoleon having reunited his army at Sezanne on the 10th, this movement was soon followed by the battle of Champ Aubert; the result of which was the taking of twenty-one pieces of cannon, the Russian general Alsusiew, two generals under his orders, forty-seven officers, and eighteen hundred prisoners; twelve hundred Russians had been killed, and scarcely fifteen hundred escaped. Among the French killed was General Lagrange.

The emperor slept that night at Champ Aubert,

and the battle of Montmirail was fought the next day: the French were again victorious; they took six standards, twenty-six pieces of cannon, two hundred carriages, with baggage and ammunition, and upwards of seven hundred prisoners. The army bivouacked upon the field of battle, whilst the allies were in full retreat to Chateau-Thierry, where, in the battle that followed, Napoleon did not lose above four hundred men. The enemy lost three pieces of cannon, and three thousand men, including one thousand eight hundred prisoners, amongst whom was General Freudenrich. In the battle of Vauchamps, on the 12th of February, Napoleon took fifteen pieces of cannon, ten standards, and two thousand prisoners; the enemy had besides seven thousand men killed and wounded. On the 15th of February, the allies determined upon the retreat of the army of Silesia, under Prince Blucher, beyond Chalons.

The affairs of Montmirail and Montereau were highly glorious to the French: after the latter, Napoleon is reported to have said, "My heart is relieved; I shall save the capital of my empire."

The unsuccessful attack on Laon, on the 9th and 10th of March, though at intervals some advantages were gained, was rightly censured as an act of the highest temerity on the part of Napoleon, who, with less than thirty thousand men, had the presumption to enter into a conflict with a hundred thousand, in possession of a most formidable position. In this murderous affair the loss of the French, in men, cannon, and prisoners, was very considerable, and, besides, it rendered the immediate retreat of Napoleon to Soissons absolutely necessary.

On the 11th the allies got possession of Rheims, but were driven out a second time with the loss of eight hundred killed, sixteen hundred wounded, and two thousand five hundred prisoners.

In the midst of these events, the allies very safely adopted the determination of marching to Paris. Joachim Murat, the king of Naples, had now openly declared for them, and the French interest in Italy and Savoy was declining more rapidly than could have been expected. Savoy was abandoned by the French troops, as was also the city of Lyons; and other places in the south of France were closely pressed by the enemy.

A congress had been opened at Chatillon on the 4th of February, with the professed view of treating for a peace with Napoleon; but, without coming to so happy a conclusion, this was broken up on the 19th of March; an event certainly hastened by the suspicions entertained by Napoleon, as much as by the check which his army had received at Laon on the 10th.

The following circumstance is very important, since it proves how much Napoleon's thoughts were employed at this crisis upon the Bourbons. After the check sustained at Brienne, the evacuation of Troyes, the forced retreat on the Seine, and the degrading conditions transmitted from Chatillon, which were so generously rejected, the emperor, who was closeted with one of his friends, overpowered at sight of the miseries then impending on France, rose from his chair, exclaiming with warmth, "Perhaps I still possess the means of saving France. What if I were myself to recall the Bourbons! The allies would then be compelled to arrest their course, under pain of being over-

whelmed with disgrace, and detected in their duplicity; under pain of being forced to acknowledge that their designs were directed against our territory, rather than against my person. I should sacrifice all to the country. I should become the mediator between the French people and the Bourbons. I should oblige the latter to accede to the national laws, and to swear fidelity to the existing compact; my glory and my name would be a guarantee to the French people. As for me, I have reigned long enough. My career is filled with acts of glory, and this last will not be esteemed the least. I shall rise higher by descending thus far." Then, after a pause of some moments, he added—"But can a repulsed dynasty ever forgive? Can it ever forget? Can the Bourbons be trusted? May not Fox be right in his famous maxim respecting restorations?"

The marvellous successes of Champ Aubert, Montmirail, Chateau-Thierry, Vauchamps, Nangis, Montereau, Craone, Rheims, Arcis-sur-Aube, St. Dizier, &c. &c., dismayed Alexander and the English, and for a while suggested to them the necessity of treating in earnest. In fact, the short but immortal campaign of this year is described by Baron Fain, in a volume entitled, "The Manuscript of 1814," as an episode of miracles, in which Napoleon throughout appears supernatural in the resources of genius, the energy of mind, the celerity of motion, the steadiness of views, and the sublimity of courage which he then evinced. Nothing can be compared with the prodigies he performed, except, indeed, the indefatigable ardour of a handful of brave men frequently deprived of food and rest.

About this time Napoleon thought proper to re-

store to the venerable Pope Pius what is called the Patrimony of St. Peter; and a treaty was published in the Moniteur, expressing, that the departments of Rome and Trasimene had been rendered to his holiness, upon condition that he should abandon the rest of the Ecclesiastical States. No one, however, was the dupe of this jugglery; and, a few days after, Murat, who coveted these estates, or the honour of giving them up, as much as his brother-in-law, remitted them in their full integrity to the pope.

Though, in the few combats that intervened between this period and the possession of Paris, the bravery and self-devotion of the French armies never shone brighter, the fearful odds of increasing numbers crippled every effort. In the last affair of Fere Champenoise, General Thevenet, after sustaining the fire of forty-eight pieces of cannon, held firm till the whole of the enemy's cavalry rushed upon him, and made a horrible butchery; he himself was wounded and taken, and not a man escaped, as not a man would give or receive quarter, but fought with the bayonet till the last breath. The French on this occasion lost nine thousand in killed and wounded, nearly half the number that was present. Sixty pieces of cannon, &c. fell into the hands of the allies; and this brilliant success completely opened to them the way to the capital.

How far the spirit of the French people might have been excited under the most untoward circumstances, appears from the conduct of the garrison and the inhabitants of Soissons. This town, when Napoleon's reverses were crowding thickly upon him, had been twice taken in less than a month, and did not appear capable of sustaining a

long siege. Commanded by two branches of the Aisne, which waters its environs, abandoned more than twenty years, and only presenting ramparts without parapets, practicable breaches at every point, a ditch nearly filled up, and every where exposed to the enemy, it may be affirmed, that this place required great repairs before it could be secured from a *coup de main*. However, its position at the head of several roads had conferred upon it no small importance. The routes from Chateau-Thierry, Compeigne, and Rheims, twenty-five leagues distant from Paris, had become the best post that could be chosen between the Marne and the Oise, to cover the capital, though the strength of Soissons seemed inadequate to the purpose intended in this celebrated but unhappy campaign. Napoleon had to regret the first loss at Soissons, occasioned by the death of Rusca, a general of division: but what painful sensations did he not feel, in seeing the fruit of so many victories escape him, by the second surrender of the place, at the moment when Marshal Blucher, forced back upon the Aisne, had this not occurred, had no alternative but that of laying down his arms.

Napoleon wrote to the minister of war on the 6th of March, ordering him to retake Soissons. On this occasion, the duke de Feltre cast his eyes upon Gerard, chef de battalion of the thirty-second, and an officer of the legion of honour, who had given brilliant proofs of his valour at Polotsk, at Nogent-sur-Seine, at Mormant, and on many other occasions.

The task imposed upon the brave Gerard was very difficult to perform; the heavy responsibility attached to this undertaking had alarmed more than

one old general. On the 10th of March, he arrived at Soissons. At a single glance he discovered the advantages and the weak parts of his position, and immediately gave his orders for the demolition of old, or the erection of new works of the first necessity, informing the inhabitants that his orders were, to prevent the enemy from setting his foot within the place.

After two fruitless attacks upon Laon, the French army retired upon Soissons, and encamped under the walls on the 11th of March. On the 12th, Napoleon, having reconnoitred the place, gave fresh orders and instructions to the commandant, to whose demand he granted forty pieces of cannon, and three thousand men of all arms, including 1500 of his guard; it was also his particular desire, that the defenders of Soissons should oblige the enemy to attack the place according to the regular rules. On the 14th, Napoleon departed, leaving the marshal duke of Trevisa to cover the town, and who accordingly took a position on the heights before Crouy. The duke had orders to furnish Soissons with all the labourers he could spare. On the 15th, the duke was attacked by the enemy's troops, much superior to his own, but without success. On the 16th and 17th, he continued a firm resistance, in order to give time to General Gerard to make his dispositions for receiving the enemy; but, on the 18th, he marched away, leaving General Charpentier's division in his position, to act as a rear-guard. After the imperial guard had entered Soissons on the 16th, General Gerard, having formed his garrison, found it composed of six battalions, two squadrons, three companies of artillery, and three others of sappers and miners; a staff was created

for the place, and the works were pushed with activity at every point.

On the 20th, General Charpentier wrote from Braine, informing General Gerard that Rheims had been abandoned by the corps under the duke of Trevisa, and that there was every appearance that the whole of Blucher's army was approaching. General Bulow, having been joined at Crouy by Sacken's corps, and having under him 30,000 men, summoned Soissons. On the evening of the 20th of March, the Prussian general, flattering himself that he should carry Soissons as easily as it had been carried by the Russian commandant Witzingerode, sent his flags of truce. General Gerard, refusing to receive their despatches, caused them to be conducted by two officers of the garrison to the camp whence they set out. These officers were ordered to inform General Bulow, that the commandant of Soissons would have no correspondence with the enemy, excepting the exchange of cannon-balls. Seeing no probability of negotiation, the enemy unmasked several batteries, and inundated the town with a discharge from howitzers and with red-hot balls, making at the same time a violent attack upon the fauxbourg of Paris, but without effect.

On the 22d, the enemy never ceased firing upon the place, and this fire, if it had been possible, would have augmented the ardour with which the besieged continued their labour at all points.

On the 24th, the enemy, having forcibly entered the suburb of St. Christophe, and established himself, immediately began to crenelate the houses of which he had got possession, at the same time that a battery was raised behind them upon the road to Compeigne. Soon after this their tiralleurs, that

were under cover, kept up a continual fire upon the gate of Paris. In consequence of this, General Gerard resolved to make a sortie from the Rheims and Paris gates, which he executed with success. The working parties, taken by surprise, abandoned the trenches without much resistance; some prisoners were taken; the enemy was entirely driven out, and the houses nearest the Paris gate were set on fire.

The enemy, to be revenged for this check, kept up a continual fire, during the night between the 24th and 25th, from a number of howitzers; but, deceived by the light of the fauxbourg in flames, the town suffered very little.

On the 25th, the inhabitants, deriving confidence from the dispositions of the chiefs, and the valour of the troops, and also inspired by the noble devotion which they perceived in their defenders, who were not able to take a moment's repose, spontaneously consented to obey the invitation of General Gerard, to join their patriotic efforts with those of the garrison.

On the 26th, General Bulow sent another flag of truce, who was warned against approaching the gates, and immediately ordered off. But, notwithstanding the brisk fire of the garrison and their frequent sorties, the approaches of the enemy were considerably advanced in the night between the 26th and 27th. The commandant then determined to make a strong sortie, for the purpose of reconnoitring the works of the besiegers, and, if possible, to destroy them. The garrison, not exceeding two thousand five hundred men, received orders to hold themselves in readiness to fall upon the enemy.

On the 28th, at four o'clock in the afternoon,

General Gerard harangued the troops; the action was intended to be decisive; the draughts from the old guard, the miners, and a squadron of gendarmerie, remained in reserve at the Paris gate, and the gunners were at their guns. At a given signal of a discharge of twenty pieces of cannon, that covered with their grape-shot the fauxbourg St. Christophe, the commandant, Gerard, at the head of the remainder of his garrison, attacked the enemy with such impetuosity, that, owing to his surprise, he could not resist the shock; the labourers were killed or taken in the trenches; the guards and reserves were overthrown or put to flight. This day cost the Prussians under Bulow near nine hundred men; but the fauxbourg of St. Christophe was burnt. The garrison brought in with them about fifty prisoners: their own loss did not exceed eighty killed and wounded.

In the night between the 28th and 29th, the enemy contrived to keep the garrison upon the alert at different points, and, on the following day, opened a battery of four pieces upon the capital of the bastion No. 2; and sent another flag of truce that was refused. Favoured by the darkness of the night between the 29th and 30th, he forced a passage into the fosse; but this operation was not only checked by a brisk fire, but a shower of fascines, burning with pitch and other combustibles, thrown down from the ramparts, destroyed the enemy's works and his preparations.

On the 31st, at break of day, the garrison perceived with equal joy and surprise, that the enemy had abandoned his intrenchments, and withdrawn his artillery from the batteries. Some time after they saw the Prussian troops in position upon the

heights that surround Soissons, with a few posts and videttes in the plain, whilst several of their columns were filing off towards Paris and Compeigne.

M. Bergeres, at the head of a column of five hundred infantry and all the cavalry, next proceeded to reconnoitre the works of the besiegers, to destroy which the sappers, miners, and others were employed. The enemy did not attempt to annoy these troops, otherwise than by cannon, the grape from which wounded a few men.

On the 7th of April, the enemy sent two letters by a peasant, which General Gerard refused to receive. On the following day, a *parliamentaire*, who said he was sent by the new minister of war, was equally refused. On the 10th, General Gerard was informed that a Prussian convoy was at Venizel: this escort and twenty horses were brought into Soissons. On the 14th, in the afternoon, General Daboville, bearer of the acts of the provisionary government, was admitted into Soissons; he remitted to the commandant, General Gerard, a letter from which the following is an extract:

"The provisionary government transmits to you the faithful and authentic relation of the events to which Paris has been witness some days past. Amongst these documents you will remark the decree of the senate, which pronounces the fall of Napoleon and his family; the constitutional act, which recalls to the throne the legitimate inheritors and descendants of St. Louis and Henry the Fourth, and the unanimous adherence of the magistrates, the generals, officers and soldiers, who have devoted themselves without reserve to the holy cause of their country. You will there find the legalized

copy of the act of abdication by Napoleon, signed at Fontainebleau on the 11th of the present month of April."

On the 15th, the commandant Gerard concluded an armistice with the blockading troops, and sent Bergeres, the commandant of the engineers, to Paris, to inquire into the real state of affairs. On the 16th, he received the official acts of the fall and abdication of Napoleon. After having transmitted these documents to the garrison, at half past ten at night he sent in to General Daboville his adhesion, and that of all the French corps under him, in order that it might be presented to the government.

On the 22d, a convention was signed with the Prussian lieutenant-general Borstel, commandant of the blockading troops. One of these articles is very remarkable; it states that a bridge shall be thrown across the Aisne above the stone bridge at Soissons, and under the cannon of the place, for the passage of the allied troops, so that not one single enemy should enter the town.

Thus terminated the siege of Soissons. This place, fortified with such haste and so imperfectly, sustained nine days of open trenches. Under its walls the enemy lost more than two thousand men.

On the 31st of March, in the morning, the allies entered Paris. In the evening Caulincourt came from Napoleon, to say that he acceded to the terms of peace which the allies had offered at Chatillon. The emperor gave no other answer, than that the time was past for treating with Bonaparte as sovereign of France. The emperor and the king of Prussia marched into Paris on the same day, and were received by all ranks of the population with the warmest acclamations. The enthusiasm and

exultation that were exhibited, far exceeded the expectations of the most sanguine and devoted friends of the ancient dynasty of France. It really appeared that the restoration of their legitimate king, the downfall of Napoleon, and the desire of peace, had become the first and dearest wish of the Parisians, who, by the events of those days, had been emancipated from a system of terror and despotism impossible to describe, and kept in ignorance by arts of falsehood and deception incredible for an enlightened people, and almost incomprehensible to the reflecting part of mankind.

Napoleon had now moved his army from Troy by Sens towards Fontainebleau, where he was joined by the wrecks of Mortier and Marmont's corps; the whole did not exceed 40 or 50,000 men; nevertheless, he would have made some desperate attempt, had he been assured they would have supported him. The emperor of Russia, acting in accordance with the senate, proposed to Napoleon, in the name of the allied powers, to choose a place of retreat for nimself and his family, and Caulincourt was directed to carry this proposal to him in answer to his own, which was, to submit to the decision of the senate, and to abdicate in favour of his son.

He had been informed of this resolution of the senate whilst at Fontainebleau. He was reviewing the troops on the 1st of April in the morning, and seemed to think them his own. He pretended not to know what had passed. Marshal Ney then gave him the Paris papers to read. In the mean time Lefebvre arrived, who, addressing the late emperor in a feeling tone, said, "You are undone! you would not listen to the counsels of any of your servants, and now the senate has declared that you

have forfeited the throne." These words drew tears from him; and he wrote the act of abdication almost immediately after. It is also related, that several generals sent to the duke of Bassano, who was mostly alone with the emperor, to dissuade him from appearing on parade, but he did not succeed. On the parade, Napoleon looked pale and thoughtful, whilst his convulsive motions showed his internal struggles; and he did not stop many minutes. When he returned into the palace, he asked the duke of Reggio if the troops would follow him. "No, sire," answered the duke: "you have abdicated."—"Yes, but upon certain conditions."—"The soldiers," resumed the duke, "do not comprehend the difference; they think you have no more any right to command them."—"Well then," said Napoleon, "this is no more to be thought of: let us wait for accounts from Paris."

The marshals left him, and returned in the night about twelve. Ney entered first—"Well, have you succeeded?" exclaimed Napoleon.—"Revolutions do not turn back: this has begun its course; it was too late. To-morrow the senate will recognise the Bourbons."—"Where shall I be able to live with my family?"—"Where your majesty shall please; and, for example, in the isle of Elba, with a revenue of six millions."—"Six millions! that is a great deal for a soldier as I am. I see very well I must submit. Salute all my companions."

The form of abdication was to the following purport: "The allied powers having proclaimed that the emperor Napoleon was the only obstacle to the re-establishment of the peace of Europe, the emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he renounces, for himself and his heirs, the thrones of

France and Italy; and that there is no personal sacrifice, even that of life, which he is not ready to make to the interest of France.

"Done at the palace of Fontainebleau,
April 11, 1814."

At length, on the 20th of April, at eleven in the morning, Napoleon left Fontainebleau, followed by fourteen carriages. His escort employed sixty-four post-horses. The four commissioners of the allied powers, who accompanied him, were M. Suwatow, a Prussian general, Kolliere, an English officer, and another, supposed to be an Austrian. Four officers of his household, among whom was his baker, formed part of his suite. Few of the military departed with him. To the officers and subalterns of the old guard he said on setting off, "I bid you farewell: during the twenty years that we have acted together, I have always found you in the path of glory. All the powers of Europe have armed against me: a part of my generals have betrayed their duty. With your assistance, and that of the brave men who remained faithful to me, I have for three years preserved France from civil war. Be faithful to your new king, whom France has chosen: be obedient to your commanders, and do not abandon your dear country, which too long has suffered. Pity not my fate. I shall be happy when I know that you are so likewise. I might have died: nothing would have been more easy to me; but I still wish to pursue the path of glory. What we have done I will write. I cannot embrace you all, but I will embrace your general. Come, general: let the eagle be brought to me, that I may also embrace it." On embracing it, he said, "Ah, dear eagle, may

the kisses I bestow on you resound to posterity Adieu, my children! Adieu, my brave companions! Once more encompass me." The staff then, attended by the four commissioners, formed a circle around him. Getting into the carriage at this moment, he could not suppress his feelings; he dropped a few tears. On this occasion, the English commissioner, who stood near him, and who had previously been his inveterate enemy, was so deeply moved, that he was affected in the same degree as Napoleon's attendants.

On the evening of the 20th Napoleon reached Briarre; on the 21st he arrived at Nevers; on the 22d at Rouanne; on the 23d at Lyons; on the 24th at Montelimart; on the 25th at Orgon; on the 26th he slept near Luc; on the 27th at Frejus; on the 28th, at eight in the evening, he embarked on board the English frigate the Undaunted, Captain Usher.

It was deemed prudent that Napoleon should reach Lyons at night; when the Austrian general and an English gentleman went out in disguise, and mingled with the crowd collected to see the dethroned monarch pass by, concluding that he would be the object of the bitterest imprecations. On the contrary, as soon as the emperor appeared, deep silence prevailed among the multitude, and an old woman, in deep mourning, with a countenance full of enthusiasm, rushed forward to the door of the carriage. "Sire," said she, with an air of solemnity, "may the blessing of Heaven attend your endeavour to make yourself happy. They tear you from us; but our hearts are with you wheresoever you go."

The four commissioners, and Captain Usher of the Undaunted frigate, who was appointed to convey him to Elba, dined with him on the 27th of April, previous to his embarkation. On the introduction of Captain Usher, he said, "that, though formerly our enemy, he was now as sincerely our friend, and that we were a great nation." On Captain Usher observing that he feared he could but ill accommodate him, Napoleon said, a British man of war was a palace. At dinner, the subject was chiefly naval affairs, of which he appeared a perfect master. He said that in three years his plans would have been completed; that he would have had two hundred sail of the line, well manned, as his naval conscription fully answered his expectations. He said that his principal object in annexing Holland to France, was for the purpose of making good sailors, by exercising them on the Zuyderzee; and, turning round to the Russian commissioner, added, that he had constructed a three-decker, then called the Austerlitz. The conversation was highly interesting. Napoleon looked remarkably well, and talked with his usual confidence. A French frigate was sent to wait upon him, but he preferred going in the English frigate.

On the evening before his embarkation at Frejus, an immense mob had gathered round his hotel. He sent for Captain Usher; his sword was on the table, and he appeared very thoughtful. Captain Usher observed, that the French mob was the worst he had seen: he answered, they are a fickle people Napoleon appeared deep in thought; but recovering himself, rung the bell, and ordered the grand marshal to be sent for: he asked if all was ready;

being answered in the affirmative, he turned to the captain in his usual quick way, and said, *Allons;* let us go. The stairs were lined on each side with ladies and gentlemen; he stopped a moment, and said something to the ladies. He walked to his carriage, and called for the captain, the Austrian commissioner, and the grand marshal, and they drove off.

When he came on board the Undaunted, he walked round the ship: the people crowded about him, and, for the first time in his life, he seemed to feel confidence in a mob.

On the morning after Napoleon's arrival at Porto Ferrajo, all the authorities were ordered to attend the ceremony of his entrance. Accordingly, on the 4th of April, in the morning, a flag was brought into the town with some solemnity, and immediately hoisted on the castle. This flag had a white ground interspersed with bees, and in the centre appeared the arms of Napoleon and those of the island of Elba, united by a rose-coloured stripe. Some time after the flag was hoisted, Napoleon landed with all his suite, and was saluted with 101 rounds of cannon. The English frigate replied to the salute with 24 guns. Napoleon was dressed in a blue great coat, under which appeared a suit richly embroidered with silver, with a peculiar decoration: he had a small round hat with a white cock ade. He was conducted to the house of the mayor, where he received the visits of all the superior officers: he spoke to them with an air of confidence, and even of gayety, putting a number of questions relative to the isle. After reposing a short time, he got on horseback, and visited the forts of Marciana, Campo, Capo, Liviri, and Rio On the morning of

the 5th, accompanied by the commissaries of the allied powers, he rode to Porto Longone, five miles from Porto Ferrajo, and also visited the iron mines that constitute the wealth of the isle.

Whilst in this island, the emperor observed that his flag had become the first in the Mediterranean. It was held sacred, he said, by the Algerines, who usually made presents to the Elba captains, telling them that they were paying the debt of Moscow. Some Algerine ships, once anchoring off the island, caused great alarm among the inhabitants, who questioned the pirates, and asked them plainly whether they came with any hostile views—"Against the great Napoleon!" said the Algerines—"oh! never—we do not wage war on God."

Notwithstanding Napoleon's pretended ignorance of what was passing on the continent, or the more honourable motive of not committing the persons who brought him intelligence, besides one officer disguised as a sailor, more than a hundred French and Italian officers, with their uniforms and swords, and with regular passports, coming from France, Corsica, Genoa, Leghorn, Piombino, Civita Vecchia, or Naples, visited Elba, and brought him particular news of what was passing in France or Italy.

Among other reasons assigned by Napoleon for his leaving Elba, he mentioned a visit from an English nobleman, a Catholic, about thirty years of age. He had dined with the duke de Fleury a few weeks before, when, the conversation turning upon the sum of money to be allowed Napoleon annually, according to a treaty signed by the ministers of the allied powers, the duke laughed at him for his supposing for a moment that it would

be complied with, and said they were not such fools. "That," said Bonaparte, "was one of the motives which induced me to quit Elba." He was surprised that some English frigates had not been ordered to cruise about the island, and that a French frigate had not been stationed in the harbour. Other violations of the treaty of Fontainebleau, he said, obliged him to take the step he did: his wife and child were seized, detained, and never permitted to join him. They were to have had the dutchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, which they were deprived of. Prince Eugene Beauharnois was to have had a principality in Italy. Napoleon's mother and brothers were to receive pensions, which were also refused: his own private property was seized in the hands of Labouillerie, and all claims made by Bonaparte rejected. Besides, he said, assassins were sent over to Elba to murder him.

Among the minor events of the year 1814, it should be observed, Piedmont was restored to the king of Sardinia, though the long occupation of that country by the French had fostered a French interest there, which obstructed its ready return to its ancient allegiance. Genoa was also given up to the Sardinian monarch, and the city and republic of Venice restored to the emperor of Austria. The island of Sicily also, which the circumstances of the war had so long converted, as it were, to an English garrison, naturally returned to its pristine condition after the peace; and, in the beginning of June, it was announced from Palermo, that his majesty Ferdinand had resumed the reins of government, and returned to Naples, after an absence of nine years.

France, in consequence of Bonaparte's failures and abdication, being reduced to her former limits, Holland was soon after enlarged by the addition of the Catholic Netherlands. The emperor Francis showed no reluctance in getting rid of a detached territory, which had long been more of a burden than a benefit. On the 1st of August, 1814, a proclamation by Baron de Vincent, the Austrian governor, informed the people that Belgium was to be given up into the hands of the sovereign prince of the Netherlands; and the prince of Orange soon after assured his new subjects, that the destination of these provinces was only a part of a system, by which the allied sovereigns hoped to ensure to the nations of Europe a long period of prosperity and repose.

It may be necessary to mention here, that Joachim Murat, having effected his escape from Italy, retired to Provence, in the south of France, while Madame Murat and her family found an asylum in the Austrian states.

The results of the battle of Waterloo, in the following year, obliged Murat to quit France; and in September, 1815, he appeared in the island of Corsica, where he assembled a number of partisans to assist him in invading Naples, and to recover the throne from which he had been expelled. At mid-day, on the 8th of October, he disembarked in Calabria with a suite of thirty persons, and marched without interruption to the first village, where, hoping to excite a rising of the people, Murat exclaimed, "I am Joachim, your king; it is your duty to acknowledge me." These words served to rouse the people to arms, not to aid, but to crush a desperate enterprise, that threatened to

involve their country in the horrors of a civil war. Murat and his suite sought refuge in the mountains, and afterwards endeavoured to open themselves a way to the coast, but were made prisoners. Immediately after his capture, Murat was brought to trial before a military commission, by which he was condemned to be shot, in company with his followers; this accordingly took place in the afternoon of the 13th of October, and thus released the apprehensions of the reigning family for the safety of their throne.

Such was the miserable end of him who had been one of the most active causes of Napoleon's reverses. In 1814, his courage, it was admitted, might have saved Napoleon from the abyss in which his treachery involved his former sovereign. He neutralized the vice-king Eugène, on the Po, and fought against him; whereas, by uniting together, they might have forced the passes of the Tyrol, made a descent into Germany, and, arriving on the Rhine, might have destroyed the rear of the allies, and cut off their retreat from France.

The emperor, while he was at Elba, avoided all communication with Murat, as king of Naples; but, on departing for France, he wrote to inform him, that, being about to resume possession of his throne, he felt pleasure in declaring to him, that all their past differences were at an end. He pardoned his late conduct, tendered him his friendship, sent some one to sign the guarantee of his states, and recommended him to maintain a good understanding with the Austrians, and content himself merely with keeping them in check, should they attempt to march upon France. Murat, at this

moment, actuated by the sentiments of his early youth, would receive neither guarantee nor signature. He declared, that the emperor's promise and friendship were sufficient for him, and that he would prove he had been more unfortunate than guilty. His devotedness and ardour, he added, would obtain for him oblivion for the past.

"Murat," said the emperor, "was doomed to be our bane. He ruined us by forsaking us, and he afterwards ruined us by too warmly espousing our cause. I had forbidden him to act; for, after I had returned from Elba, there was an understanding between the emperor of Austria and me, that, if I gave him up Italy, he would not join the coalition against me. This I had promised, and would have fulfilled; but that *imbecille*, in spite of the direction to remain quiet, advanced with his rabble into Italy, where he was blown away like a puff. The emperor of Austria, seeing this, concluded directly that it was by my order."

In the meanwhile, Louis, who had ascended the throne of France, found himself surrounded with difficulties. The splendid military despotism, which, for several years, had dazzled his country, had hushed, but not destroyed, the revolutionary parties. A great mass of past glory still adhered to the name of Napoleon; and his partisans, and even his troops, had no difficulty in finding reasons for his failures in unforeseen circumstances, and in the perfidious desertion of his former allies. The pride of the nation, co-operating with this feeling, spurned at the idea of being conquered. As soon, therefore, as the joy of present relief from danger had subsided, a spirit of discontent manifested it-

self in animosity against the allies, and in disaffection to a government which they considered had been imposed upon them by foreign arms. This spirit was so strong in the capital, and in some of the departments, that it required all the vigilance of the government to prevent its breaking out into open insurrection.

CHAPTER X.

State of Parties in France at the Commencement of 1815—Situation of Napoleon at the Isle of Elba—Change in his Habits—Learns the Discontents of the French People—The Symbol of the Violet—Blindness and Insensibility of the Bourbons—Removal of Bonaparte in Agitation at Vienna—This prevented by his own Determination to quit Elba, and return to France—His actual Departure on the 26th of February—His Fortitude and Presence of Mind—Lands, and takes up his first Night's Quarters in a Field of Olives—His March to Paris—Re-establishment of the imperial Government—Activity and Bustle of the hundred Days—The Champ de Mai—Plans for the ensuing Campaign.

THE state of parties in France, at the commencement of the year 1815, still indicated alarming differences in sentiments and opinions among large classes of the community. The military, in particular, deeply felt the humiliation of the French arms. A recent ordinance for the reduction of all officers, not immediately in employ, to half-pay, combined with the recall of the Swiss guards to the capital, and the exclusion of the old imperial guard from Paris, swelled the tide of discontent to an alarming height. To add to such stimulants, already too strong, a religious ceremony, calculated to revive a recollection of the errors and crimes of the revolution, and by no means adapted to the enlightened spirit of the times, was performed on the 21st of January, the anniversary of the execution of Louis XVI. On the 18th, the remains of the bodies of the king and queen were taken up from the cemetery of the Magdalene, where they had lain two-and-twenty years. They were then enclosed in a large box, which was fastened, and seal

ed with the signet of the arms of France, and carried into a chamber, in order that the ecclesiastics might continue round the two bodies the prayers of the church, till the time finally fixed for the placing them in leaden coffins, and for carrying them to the royal church of St. Denis, where they were finally entombed. The people now not only imagined that they should be compelled to pay respect to all the ancient rites and prejudices in religion, but that it was intended to restore the whole circle of feudal tenures and services, especially as the theatres of Paris had been ordered to be shut on the day of the re-interment of the royal corpses, and a service commemorative of the death of Louis XVI., then considered as a martyr, introduced into the French liturgy. To add to this aggravation, many persons, from factious motives, were busy in disseminating reports of designs, on the part of government, to restore tithes, and invalidate the purchase of national property.

The arrival of Napoleon at Elba has been noticed in the preceding chapter. There his ever-active mind was immediately applied to completing the fortification of his capital, improving the public roads, and adding to the agricultural and mineralogical resources of the island. One of his attendants observed, "His days passed in the most pleasing occupations; all his hours were filled up." In the morning, he shut himself up in his library. He often rose before the sun, and employed himself several hours in study; about eight o'clock, he visited the works he had projected, and spent a considerable time amongst his workmen. Whatever might be the state of the weather, he repaired daily to his chateau at St. Martin, and there, as in the city, he

was occupied with the interior management of his house, and required an exact account of every thing, entering into the smallest details of rural and domestic economy. Often, after breakfast, he reviewed his little army, required the greatest regularity in their exercises and manœuvres, and caused the strictest discipline to be observed. After the review, he mounted his horse, generally attended by Marshal Bertrand and General Drouot, and in his excursions often gave audience to those who met him. At dinner, all who were admitted to his table were treated with kindness and cordiality; as he had acquired the secret of enjoying the most intimate and friendly society, without surrendering any part of his dignity. The evenings were usually dedicated to family parties.

However, when the first impressions of novelty were effaced, Bonaparte's mind gradually subsided into a state bordering upon *ennui*. He grew corpulent, took less exercise, and more sleep. But his knowledge of the discussions of the congress of Vienna, with respect to his future disposal, and the treatment of the empress and his son, soon roused him from this state. Hitherto he had evinced a decided preference for the society of Sir Neil Campbell, the British accredited agent at Elba; but, having received a visit from some of his family and friends, he became restless and dissatisfied. He shunned the company of the British resident, and almost secluded himself from society. Often he would spend seven or eight hours in his closet, no one daring to intrude on his retirement; and at other times he would wander on the shore with folded arms, and frequently with an unequal and agitated step. The increasing discontents of the

French people had now come to his knowledge; the wheel of vicissitudes was again in motion, and the mind of Napoleon became intently fixed upon the progress of the rotation.

This striking alteration in his conduct, and the frequent intercourse which he had opened with his friends in Leghorn, Florence, and other parts of the continent, were not concealed from the principal governments of Europe. A corvette had also been assigned to him, to keep up his communication with the ports of the Mediterranean, and no cruiser of any nation had any right to violate his flag. In fact, Colonel Sir Neil Campbell had not any authority for seizing or detaining Bonaparte, if he thought proper to quit the island. His device, the *violet*, the secret symbol by which his friends denoted him, and knew each other, was extended on the course of the Seine, as well as on the banks of the lake of Geneva. Rings of a violet colour, with the device, *Elle reparatrai au printems*—"It will re-appear in the spring," became fashionable. Females wore violet-coloured silks, and the men displayed violet-coloured watch-strings; and the mutual question, when persons met, was, generally, *Aimez vous la violette?*—"Are you fond of the violet?" to which the answer of a confederate was, *Eh! bien*—"Ah! well."

In the midst of this peril, the Bourbons seemed to slumber at the Tuilleries, and to disregard the warning voice so often sounded in their ears. Early in January, offers are understood to have been received by M. Blacas, the minister and favourite of his sovereign, to disclose a plot formed for the restoration of Bonaparte; but the proposal was received with contemptuous silence, and treated with

neglect. Posterity will scarcely credit the assertion, that, after the return of Napoleon, there were found, in the bureau of the Abbé Montesquiou, several successive communications from the Comte de Bontheliers, prefect of the department of the Var, unread and unopened. The early part of these communications, dated in the month of January, informed the minister of the frequent arrival at, and the departure of various persons from, Elba. At Vienna, also, the conduct of the illustrious exile had become the subject of correspondence between Lord Castlereagh and M. Talleyrand; and it certainly was in agitation to remove Napoleon to a situation more remote from his family and his friends, and less dangerous to the future tranquillity of Europe. These circumstances served to hasten the grand catastrophe.

The preparations made for the hazardous enterprise. now preparing to burst upon an astonished world, formed a striking contrast with those made by the same personage, some years before, for the invasion of England. For the army that was now to invade France, one day's notice was all that was deemed necessary. Instead of two hundred thousand men, here were considerably less than one thousand: the flotilla, on board which they were embarked, consisted of the Inconstant, of 26 guns L'Etoile and La Caroline, bombardes, and four feluccas. The orders to embark were not received till one in the afternoon; and at eight o'clock, in the evening of the 26th of February, the expedition with the emperor and his staff on board the Inconstant, sailed from Porto Ferrajo at the signal of a single gun. Every thing had been for some time in motion; crowds of old men, women, and children,

eagerly rushed to the shore, and thronged round the faithful companions of Napoleon, contending with each other for the honour of touching them, seeing and embracing them, for the last time.

The French rushed into their boats, martial music struck up, and the flotilla sailed majestically from the shore amid the shouts of *Vive l'empereur!* Napoleon, when he set his foot on board the vessel, was calm and serene, only exclaiming with Cæsar, "The die is cast!" Count Bertrand's eyes sparkled with hope and joy: Drouot and Gorgaud were pensive and serious: the old grenadiers resumed their martial aspect; and Napoleon chatted and joked with them incessantly. All were burning to know their destination, but none dared to ask the question. At length Napoleon broke silence: "Grenadiers," said he, "we are going to France; we are going to Paris." At these words every countenance expanded. An English sloop of war under Captain Campbell, which seemed to have the charge of watching the island of Elba, at the moment of embarkation, was at Leghorn; however, several vessels were in sight, and excited some apprehensions. These were soon increased by a calm, and at day-break the flotilla was still between the islands of Elba and Caprea, having advanced no more than six leagues. About noon the wind freshened a little, and at four o'clock they were off Leghorn. A frigate and a man-of-war brig were still in sight, and the latter was coming down upon the imperial flotilla, right before the wind. The emperor ordered the soldiers of the guard to take off their caps, and go below. At six o'clock, the French brig Le Zephir passed alongside the Inconstant, and the captain inquired after the emperor, when

he was answered by Napoleon himself, that the emperor was extremely well. The other brig and the Zephir now steered different courses, without the least suspicion of the valuable prize which they had suffered to escape. In the night of the 27th, the wind continued to freshen, and at day-break a seventy-four gun ship was descried steering for Fiorenza, or Sardinia, but it was soon perceived that she took no notice of the flotilla.

Before Napoleon had left Elba, he had prepared two proclamations; one addressed to the French people, the other to the army. They were couched in his usually animated style, and dated Gulf of Juan, March 1, 1815.

On the 1st of March, at three o'clock in the afternoon, they entered the Gulf of Juan. At five, the emperor landed, and took up his quarters for the night in a field surrounded with olives. "This," Napoleon exclaimed, "is a happy omen: may it be realized!" Among a few peasants that appeared, was one who had formerly served under Napoleon, and, knowing him, would not quit him. "See," said the emperor to Bertrand; "we have got a reenforcement already." He spent the evening chatting and laughing familiarly with his guards.

Five-and-twenty men, who had been sent forward to Antibes, to sound the garrison, under the pretext that they were deserters from Elba, behaved so imprudently, that the French commandant of the garrison ordered the drawbridge to be raised, and detained them as prisoners. Napoleon, finding they did not return, despatched an officer to the walls of Antibes, to harangue the soldiers; but he found the gates of the town and the harbour both closed, and that it was not possible to

see General Corsin, or to speak to the soldiers. Napoleon, though a little disconcerted at this event, began his march at eleven at night, with four small pieces of artillery in his train. He proceeded to Cannes, thence to Grasses, and, in the evening of the 2d, arrived at the village of Cerenon. On the 3d, he slept at Bareme, and at Digne on the 4th. The peasants blessed his return; but, when they saw his little troop, they looked on him with pity, and very little hope.

On the 5th, he slept at Gap, and here first printed his proclamations, which were distributed with the rapidity of lightning.

On the 6th, at two in the afternoon, he left Gap, and the whole city went to see him set off. At St. Bonnel, the inhabitants proposed sounding the alarm-bell, to collect the neighbouring villagers, and accompany him in a body, but Napoleon declined the offer. On the same night he slept at Gorp. At Sisteron, the people were willing to furnish more provisions than were demanded; and, when the battalion of Elba appeared, they offered it a tri-coloured flag. Three leagues from Gorp the emperor found a battalion of the fifth regiment, a company of sappers, &c., in all seven or eight hundred men, opposed to him. He sent Raoul to parley with them; they would not hear him. Napoleon then, alighting from his horse, marched straight to the detachment, followed by his guard, with arms secured: "What, my friends," said he to them, "do you not know me? I am your emperor; if there be a soldier among you who is willing to kill his general, his emperor, he may do it; here I am;" and he placed his hand upon his breast. "Long

live the emperor!" was the answer, in an unanimous shout.

It seems a division of royalists continued to cover Grenoble, which the soldiers who had now joined Bonaparte being anxious to march against, their request was granted. Before they had reached Vizille the crowd of inhabitants increased every instant; but between this place and Grenoble an adjutant-major came to announce that Colonel Labedoyere had separated from the troops at Grenoble, and was hastening, with his regiment, to the emperor.

Soon after, loud shouts were heard at a distance; the soldiers, when they approached, being impatient to join, broke their ranks, and nothing was heard but "The guard for ever! the seventh for ever!" Napoleon, thus seeing his forces and the public spirit increasing every step, resolved to enter Grenoble that very evening, when, before he reached the city, a young merchant, an officer of the national guard, offered his services and a hundred thousand francs. Farther on he was joined by a party of officers, by whom he learned that General Marchand and the prefect of Grenoble had declared against him, drawn the troops into the town, and closed the gates; and that the ramparts were covered by the third regiment of engineers, composed of two thousand sappers, all veterans, covered with honourable scars; by the fourth artillery of the line, some battalions of the fifth, and hussars of the fourth. Napoleon, however, and his party, with their arms reversed, and marching with joyful irregularity, approached the walls singing. Nothing was heard but "Grenoble for ever! France for

ever!" The garrison, the national guard, and the town's-people, spread over the ramparts, beheld at first with surprise and emotion these transports of joy and attachment; and it was not long before they partook of them: the besiegers and the besieged uttered at once the rallying words, "Long live the emperor!" The people and the soldiers rushed to the gates, which were in an instant beaten down, and Napoleon, surrounded, thronged by an idolizing crowd, made his triumphant entry into Grenoble. Soon after, the people came and brought him the fragments of the gates, with trumpets sounding, and said, "For want of the keys of the good town of Grenoble, here are the gates for you." Here Napoleon questioned young Labedoyere on the state of Paris, and of France in general. Full of the noblest sentiments, the frankness with which he expressed himself sometimes staggered Napoleon: "Sire," he said, "the French will do every thing for your majesty, but then your majesty must do every thing for them: *no more ambition, no more despotism: we are determined to be free and happy.* It is necessary, sire, to renounce that system of conquest and power, which occasioned the misfortunes of France and of yourself." Napoleon promised every thing, if he should succeed.

Proclamations, &c. printed at Grenoble, were diffused in every direction, and couriers despatched to announce Napoleon's entrance into that city, and his prospects of success. Here he reviewed the garrison of six thousand men, which afterwards set out on its march to Lyons. The empress and Prince Joseph Bonaparte were written to from Grenoble, and it was carefully made known to the

people, that Marie Louise and her son were coming to join the emperor.

The news of the emperor's landing did not reach Paris till the 5th of March, at night. It transpired on the 6th, and on the 7th a royal proclamation appeared in the Moniteur, convoking the chambers immediately. A decree was also issued, placing Napoleon, and all who should join him, out of the protection of the law. On the 8th, the Moniteur announced that Bonaparte had landed with eleven hundred men, most of whom had deserted him; that he was wandering in the mountains, with only a few attendants; that he had been refused provisions, was in want of every thing, and must soon give himself up to his pursuers. All manner of falsehoods and empty boasts were propagated among the royalists; and, on the 11th of March, an officer in the king's household appeared in the balcony of the Tuilleries, and, waving his hat, announced that the king had just received an official account, that the duke of Orleans, at the head of twenty thousand of the national guard of Lyons, had attacked Bonaparte, and completely beaten him. On the 12th, this victory was contradicted, and a decree that followed for assembling a new army in front of Paris, and a call upon the three millions of national guards to take up arms, sufficiently indicated the danger apprehended by the king and his friends. In fine, the defection of Marshal Ney completely removed the vail of deception. The king again swore to maintain the charter; but, in the course of a few days, he left Paris for Ghent, and Bonaparte and his troops made another triumphant entry.

In the interim, when Napoleon approached the

city of Lyons, he found the count D'Artois with Marshal Macdonald, determined, as he was told, to defend the place; however, as at Grenoble, he was received with shouts of "Long live the emperor!" by the immense population as well as by the troops. The count D'Artois fancied he could gain the military by the distribution of money; but they were deaf to his words, entreaties, and promises. Passing before the thirteenth regiment of dragoons, he said to one of them, decorated with three *chevrons* and with scars, "Come, comrade, shout, Long live the king!" "No, sir; no soldier will fight against his father. I can only answer you by saying, Long live the emperor!" Confused, and in despair, the count exclaimed, "All is lost!"—At five in the evening, the whole garrison joined the emperor; at six, the imperial army took possession of the city; and at seven, Napoleon made his solemn entry, proceeding alone before his troops, but preceded and followed by an immense crowd, expressing, by incessant acclamations, the intoxication, the happiness and pride they felt at seeing him again. He alighted at the archbishop's palace, which, with his person, he intrusted to the national guard. He rejected the services of the horse-guards, assigning as his reason their ill behaviour to the count D'Artois. This corps, chiefly composed of nobles, after having sworn they would die for the count, Napoleon was informed, had deserted him; one excepted, who remained faithfully attached to his escort till the moment he thought the prince out of danger. Napoleon, who loved a noble action, not only commended the conduct of this generous Lyonese, but appointed him a member of the legion of honour.

Hitherto the civil government under Louis had remained unchanged; but, by several decrees, issued by Napoleon from Lyons, on the 13th of March, the chambers were dissolved, and a variety of changes made, which at once embraced every part of the civil and military administration of the state. On the same day, Napoleon left the city of Lyons, with a high encomium upon its fidelity and attachment.

On the 16th, the emperor slept at Avalon; and here an officer of the staff came and brought Marshal Ney's submission, and his orders of the day, in which he announced to the troops, that the cause of the Bourbons was lost for ever; that liberty was at length triumphant; and that their august emperor was about to confirm it, and would be at Paris in a few days.

On the 17th, the emperor arrived at Auxerre He alighted at the prefect's house. At eight o'clock in the evening, Ney arrived, and on the following day received a very cordial reception. The emperor, as soon as he perceived him, said, "Embrace me, my dear marshal: I am glad to see you: I have honoured and esteemed you as the bravest of the brave." The marshal ended his compliments to Napoleon, and the profession of his own patriotism, with observing that the Bourbons incessantly sought to humiliate them. "I am," said he, "still enraged, when I think that a marshal of France, like me, was obliged to kneel down before that *** of a duke of B——— to receive the cross of St. Louis. It could not last; and if you had not come to expel them, we should have driven them out ourselves."

Here the emperor wrote to the empress for the

third time; and about this period he had heard of so many plots against his life, as to produce a painful impression, and he could not help contrasting this disposition for assassinating him, with the conduct he had observed towards many of his bitterest enemies when they were completely in his power.

In advance of Fossard, the king's regiment of dragoons were drawn up in order of battle, for the purpose of joining him. On the road to Fontainebleau, the emperor was informed that two thousand of the body-guards were drawn up in the forest to oppose him. Hitherto his only escort had been the carriage of General Drouot, which preceded his, and that of M. Fleury de Chaboulon, which closed the march. Some officers, and three or four Polanders, galloped by the side of them. The horses, the postilions, the couriers, were decked with tricoloured ribands, which gave the whole party an air of festivity.

At two o'clock, on the 20th of March, Napoleon set out for Paris; but, retarded by the crowd, and the felicitations of the troops and the generals who came to meet him, he could not reach it till nine in the evening. As soon as he alighted, the people rushed on him: a thousand arms bore him up, and carried him along in triumph to the Tuilleries. The halls of the palace seemed metamorphosed into a field of battle, where friends and brothers, unexpectedly escaped from death, found and embraced one another after victory.

At an early hour on the following morning, thousands assembled to view Napoleon, who appeared at one of the windows every five minutes, when he was saluted with incessant acclamations, and, if absent from popular observation for any longer pe

riod, he was compelled to show himself, as the clamour became so loud and imperious.

The very evening of his arrival, Napoleon had a long conversation with the duke of Otranto, and other dignitaries of the state, on the situation of France. Napoleon could not disguise his rapture; "never was he seen so madly gay, or so prodigal of boxes on the ear, his favourite compliment. The fonder he was of a person, the more he gave him, and the harder he struck."

Prince Cambaceres was with reluctance placed at the head of the new administration, as minister of justice. The prince of Echmuhl was named minister of war. The duke of Vicenza was made minister of foreign affairs. The duke of Gaëta and Count Mollien again became ministers of the finances and the treasury; and the duke of Otranto had the charge of the police.

The re-establishment of the imperial government took place on all sides with a promptitude and facility truly extraordinary. Marshal Augereau, who had endeavoured, in his proclamation of 1814, to disgrace the emperor, was eager to make his recantation in a fresh proclamation. The duke of Belluno and Count Gouvion St. Cyr, after making vain efforts to curb their insurgent troops, were glad to escape from their resentment by flight. The military household of the king had submitted to their discharge, and readily surrendered their horses and arms. In fine, the royal family having evacuated the imperial territory, the emperor thought proper to acquaint the army in person with these happy results: "Thanks to the French people and to you," said he, on reviewing the troops on the 27th of March, "the imperial throne is re-

established. It is acknowledged throughout the empire, and not a single drop of blood has been spilt. The count de Lille, the count D'Artois, the duke de Berri, the duke of Orleans, have passed our northern frontier, and sought an asylum among foreigners. The tri-coloured flag waves on the towers of Calais, Dunkirk, Lille, Valenciennes, Condé, &c."

Of all the family of the Bourbons, the duke and dutchess of Angouleme alone persisted in the struggle against Napoleon. The dutchess was at Bordeaux at the time of the landing from Elba. Even after what she had heard had taken place at Paris, she made the national guard at Bordeaux take up arms: she hastened to the barracks to harangue the soldiers, and exerted herself with such spirit and activity, that Napoleon himself was pleased to say, "The dutchess D'Angouleme is the only man in the family."

The duke D'Angouleme, in the south of France, when nearly abandoned by all his followers, surrendered to General Gilly, and, having formally disbanded his army, was allowed by Napoleon to embark at Cette, from whence he sailed for Cadiz. His capitulation and departure soon led to the submission of Marseilles, which had taken part with the royalists.

About this period, Napoleon sent another letter to the empress Marie Louise. The emperor of Austria ordered it to be delivered into his hands, and contented himself with informing his daughter, that he had received news of her husband, and that he was well. Neither Napoleon nor his ministers neglected any means that could assure the foreign sovereigns of his pacific intentions; and, in

a letter addressed to them individually and collectively, he gave a solemn and authentic character to the manifestation of these sentiments.

The duke of Vicenza, also, had orders personally to express the same sentiments to the foreign ministers, as those with which the emperor was animated; but the couriers who carried his despatches were impeded or arrested, and it was evident that the hostile declaration of the Congress at Vienna, on the 13th of March, 1815, was acted upon already. In this declaration they charged Bonaparte with infringing the convention he had entered into on the 30th of March, 1814, which settled him in the island of Elba, by re-appearing in France with the design of disturbing and subverting it. The powers declared, in consequence, that Napoleon Bonaparte had thrown himself out of all the relations of civil society; that they would employ all their means, and unite all their efforts, to prevent the general peace from being disturbed anew; that they would be ready to furnish the king of France, or any other government that may be attacked, with the succours necessary to restore the public tranquillity, as soon as they shall be demanded, &c. &c. This was signed by the respective ministers of Austria, Spain, France, Prussia, Russia, Sweden, &c., and, on the part of Great Britain, by Wellington, Clancarty, and Stewart.

Prince Joseph and Prince Lucien both arrived, about the 10th of April, at Paris, to offer their fortunes and their services.

It is remarkable, that both England and Austria, in memoirs published on the 25th of April, and May 9, 1815, authentically declared, that they had not engaged, by the treaty of the 29th of March, to

restore Louis XVIII. to the throne ; and that their intentions in pursuing the war, were not to impose on France any particular government whatever.

The fortification of the capital now engaged Napoleon's attention, and during this operation he frequently went, with a few officers of his household, to stimulate the zeal of the workmen. But, at the moment when the population of Paris were testifying their attachment to their country and their emperor, the alarm bell of insurrection again resounded through the plains of La Vendée, where the peasants from Anjou, Poitou, &c. were collected. This rising in La Vendée, in consequence of the death of M. De La Roche Jacqueline, was soon quelled.

Much about this time, as observed in the preceding chapter, the rumour of the defeat and death of Murat, king of Naples, arrived. The Lazaroni having assassinated a few Frenchmen at Naples, the minister of police repaired to the royal palace with the intent of murdering the queen, the sister of Napoleon. This princess, worthy of the blood that circulated in her veins, was not affrighted by their shouts and threats ; she courageously made head against them, and compelled them to return to their obedience. Joachim Murat, who had performed prodigies of valour, considering the slender means he had of opposing the Austrians, whom he had unnecessarily provoked, returned, in the night of the 19th of March, to Naples. The queen appeared indignant at seeing him. "Madam," said he to her, "I was not able to find death." He departed immediately, to prevent his falling into the hands of the Austrians ; but the queen, notwithstanding the dangers that threatened her life, re-

solved to remain at Naples till her fate and that of the army were decided. When the treaty was signed, she went on board an English vessel, and repaired to Trieste.

But whilst the commencement of hostilities against France was only waiting for the arrival of the Russians, the Parisians, not contented with erecting their intrenchments with their own hands, solicited the honour of defending them; and twenty thousand men, composed of guards, federates of the suburbs, and citizens of all ranks, were formed into battalions for actual service, under the denomination of tiralleurs of the national guard. Unfortunately, however, the arsenals had been plundered in 1814, so that, instead of having six hundred thousand muskets, scarcely enough could be found to arm the troops of the line, and the national guards sent to garrison the fortified towns. Here, however, we may observe, that no part of Napoleon's political life, marked as it had always been by the most rapid and extraordinary promptitude in military preparations, afforded a greater display of activity than was manifested during the hundred days which formed the duration of his second reign. Amidst all his political pursuits, he was never diverted from his military preparations. Cannon, muskets, and arms of every description, were founded and forged, and issued from the manufactories with incredible celerity. The old corps were recruited; new levies were instituted, under the various names of free corps, federées, and volunteers; the whole kingdom seemed transformed at once into an immense camp, of which Napoleon was the spring and the leader.

The Champ de Mai, long delayed by unforeseen circumstances, was celebrated on the 1st of June: the ceremonies were imposing, and the addresses, on the part of the emperor and the electors, were in the usual inflated style.

Napoleon, having sworn upon the Gospels to observe, and to cause to be observed, the constitutions of the empire, ordered the oath of fidelity to be proclaimed by the arch-chancellor Cambaceres. The people being represented by the electors, this was spontaneously repeated by the latter, by the troops, and the majority of the spectators; the ministers of war, and the marine, at the head of their deputations. The staff officers of the imperial and the national guards afterwards advanced to take the oath, and receive from the hands of the chief of the state the eagles intended for their acceptance.

Napoleon was far from having united all parties by this grand solemnity. The people were disgusted with theatrical representations and empty declamation. The old revolutionists wished him to abolish the empire, and re-establish the republic. The partisans of the regency would have had him resign the crown to his son; whilst the most liberal partisans maintained, that he ought to have submitted it to the sovereign people, and received it again from them, or to have consented that they should place it upon the head of some more worthy object.

Soon after the meeting of the Champ de Mai, the emperor sent Count de Flahaut to Vienna, to negotiate or demand publicly, in the name of nature and the law of nations, the deliverance of the em-

press and her son. He set out, but could not be allowed to proceed beyond Stuttgard. Napoleon had previously attempted, by several letters full of feeling and dignity, to move the justice and sensibility of the emperor of Austria, but in vain, though it appeared he had almost persuaded the French people of the certainty of her return. Offers had been several times made to the emperor Napoleon, to bring off the empress and her son privately, but he never would listen to any thing of the kind.

During the month of May, Napoleon, having lost all hope of preserving peace, had been meditating upon a plan for the ensuing campaign. Two projects principally engaged his attention. The first was to remain upon the defensive, and by this means to throw the odium of aggression upon the allies. Supposing them to get possession of all the strong places, and to penetrate as far as Lyons or Paris, he would then commence a vigorous and decisive war. Flattering himself that numerous battalions would be continually arriving at Paris, he reckoned that the French force would augment in every quarter, whilst the strength of the allies would diminish. Two hundred and forty thousand men, under such a chief as himself, manœuvring on the shores of the Seine and the Marne, under the protection of a vast intrenched camp, guarded by sixteen thousand stationary troops, he inferred, must prove victorious against four hundred and fifty thousand of the enemy.

The second plan was, to attack the allies before they could be in readiness to resist him: it would then be necessary to commence the campaign by

the 15th of June, beat the two armies, Anglo-Hollandaise and Prusso-Saxon, then in Belgium, before the Russian, Austrian, Bavarian, and Wirtemburg armies could arrive.

Napoleon hesitated a considerable time, as to the plan he should adopt; but as an insurrection in La Vendée necessitated him to detach troops from the army of the north, his force was reduced to a hundred and twenty thousand men. These considerations induced him to adopt a third plan, viz. to attack, on the 15th of June, the Anglo-Hollandaise and Prusso-Saxon armies; to separate and beat them; or, if he failed, to retire with his army under the walls of Paris. Still he knew that the allies, thus surprised on the 15th of June, would have been in complete readiness by the 1st of July, and that their march upon Paris would be much more rapid after a victory than otherwise; and that the French army was still much inferior to those under Field-marshal Blucher and the duke of Wellington. But Napoleon also recollected, that, in the preceding year, 1814, the French, with forty thousand combatants, had faced the army commanded by the same Blucher, and that under Prince Schwartzenberg, where the two emperors of Russia and Austria were present, with the king of Prussia; that these combined armies, two hundred and forty thousand strong, had been beaten; that, at the battle of Montmirail, the corps of Sacken, Yorck, and Kleist, forty thousand in number, had been attacked, beaten, and drove beyond the Marne, by sixteen thousand French; whilst Marshal Blucher, with twenty thousand men, was held in check by the corps under the

duke of Ragusa, consisting of no more than four thousand men; and that Prince Schwartzenberg's army, of a hundred thousand, was restrained by the corps of the dukes of Reggio and Tarentum, with General Gerard's corps, not exceeding eighteen thousand

CHAPTER XI.

State of the Chambers—Opposition to the Views of Napoleon—Effect of his Speech—Reflections—Formation of a Council—Report on the moral State of France—Fouché sold to the Bourbons—Error of Napoleon in employing his former Generals—Proclamation to the Army—Treachery discovered among the officers—Affairs of Charleroi, Marchiennes, Fleurus, Quatre-Bras, Ligny, and St. Amand—Battle of Waterloo—Movements of Marshal Grouchy.

THE approaching opening of the chambers excited much apprehension in the mind of Napoleon; he could not divest himself of his old prejudices. The remembrance of the former French assemblies haunted his imagination. "He feared," says one of his friends, "that the opposition inherent in representative governments would not be rightly comprehended in France; that it would make a bad impression, and clog the sovereign power!"

At last, tormented by the sudden application of the popular system, and the dispositions which the deputies inspired, he rested all his security on the chamber of peers.

Napoleon hoped that the chamber of deputies would elect his brother Lucien as their president; but, consistent with the new tone of independence which the nation had assumed, their choice fell upon M. Lanjuinais, a person by no means agreeable to the emperor. The chamber was also displeased at not being furnished with the list of the new peers, which Napoleon purposely kept back, to see if they would elect Lucien as their president. M. Dupin maintained, that "the oath to be taken to the sovereign by the nation, to be valid and le-

gitimate, should not be administered by virtue of a decree that emanated from the will of the prince, but by virtue of a law, which is the will of the nation constitutionally expressed." But, though this proposal was rejected, it extorted the confession from Bonaparte, that he perceived with sorrow, that the deputies were not disposed to act with him, and that they let no opportunity slip of seeking a quarrel. "I will act," said he, "with them as long as I can; but if they think to make of me a King Log, or a second Louis XVI., they are under a mistake. I am not a man to receive the law from counsellors, or to allow my head to be cut off by factionaries."

On the 7th of June, he opened the chambers, and received the oaths of the peers. His speech made a deep impression on the assembly, and was received with shouts of "Long live the emperor!"

Napoleon, as he had announced, set out to join the army in the night of the 12th of June, and inspected on the way the defensive works carrying on at Soissons and Laon; and on the 13th he arrived at Avesnes. His looks, said one of his retinue, were frequently directed towards Paris. Placed as it were between two fires, he seemed less to fear the enemies he was going to contend with, than those he had left behind him. As it was thought the untoward disposition of the chambers would increase daily, it is possible that Napoleon resolved to commence the war, vainly hoping that fortune would favour his arms, and that victory would reconcile him to the deputies, or supply him with the means of reducing them to order.

The government, during his absence, consisted of a council, composed of Prince Joseph, president;

Prince Lucien; *ministers*—Prince Cambaceres, the prince of Echmuhl, the duke of Vicenza, the duke of Gaëta, the duke of Decres, the duke of Otranto, Count Mollien, Count Carnot, and others. Napoleon said to them, "To-night I set off: do your duty: the French army and I will do ours. I recommend to you union, zeal, and energy."

It is evident that Napoleon was as far from being completely satisfied with his ministers as he was with the deputies; for, when the duke of Vicenza solicited the favour of attending him to the army, "If I do not leave *you* at Paris," said he, "on whom can I depend?"

The day after his departure, the ministers of the interior and for foreign affairs repaired to the chamber of peers, and M. Carnot laid before them the situation of the emperor and the empire.

On the 17th, a new report, made to the emperor by the minister of police, on the moral state of France, was communicated to the two chambers. "Sire," said this minister, "it is my duty to tell you the whole truth. Our enemies are encouraged by instruments without and supporters within." Bordeaux, Marseilles, Toulouse, and the left bank of the Loire, Caen, and other places, were mentioned as highly disaffected. Fouché, who made this traitorous report, was not believed by many of the deputies. They imagined it had been drawn up by order of the emperor, with the intention of alarming them, and rendering them more docile to his will; but Fouché had distorted facts, with the design of giving encouragement to the Bourbons, to whom he was sold, and of intimidating, cooling, and dividing the partisans of Napoleon.

The whole army was superb, and full of ardour:

but the emperor, a slave to his ancient habitudes, committed the fault of replacing it under the command of its former chiefs. They were not now the same men, who, full of youth and ambition, were generously prodigal of their lives to acquire rank and fame; but, enriched by the spoils of the enemy, or by Napoleon's bounty, they seemed to trust more to the fortune of their leader than to their own exertions.

At this momentous period, when the French army, with Napoleon at their head, were once more upon the point of crossing the Rubicon, the practice of issuing a proclamation was not omitted. This was dated Avesnes, June 14, and marked with the rapidity, the abruptness, and the greatness of mind peculiar to the emperor: each division and regiment being duly drawn up, it was read at the head of each, as follows:—

"Soldiers! behold the anniversary of Marengo and Friedland, which has twice decided the destinies of Europe. It was then as at Austerlitz, as at Wagram. We gave our easy faith to the protestations and oaths of those princes, to whom we left our thrones. These same princes, having leagued among themselves, are now in arms against the independence of France. Let us march to give them the meeting; both they and we are still the same. Soldiers! at Jena, against these same Prussians, we were one against three; and at Montmirail, one against six.

"As many of you as have been prisoners amongst the English, relate to your comrades what you suffered in their prisons and hulks.

"The Saxons, the Belgians, the Hanoverians, and soldiers of the confederation of the Rhine, la-

ment that unhappy force which compels them to obey those princes who are the enemies of justice and liberty. They know the insatiable cupidity of this coalition. They know that these princes have already devoured twelve millions of Poles, a million of Saxons, and six millions of Belgians; and thus all the German states of the second order are their next destined prey. Madmen! a moment of prosperity has blinded them. The oppression and humiliation of the French people are beyond their power; if they enter France, they will find in it only their grave.

"Soldiers! we have marches to make, battles to give, and dangers to incur; but with constancy, discipline, and a resolution to conquer, the victory will be ours, and the glory and liberty of France will be re-conquered. For all Frenchmen who have a heart, the moment is come to conquer or die."

In the evening, it appeared from the roll-call, that the force of the army amounted to a hundred and twenty-two thousand four hundred men, and three hundred and fifty pieces of cannon.

On the same night, the army, the movements of which the emperor had taken care to conceal, commenced its march; there was no appearance that the enemy had foreseen this event, and every thing promised fair, when he was informed that General Bourmont, Colonels Clouet and Villoutreys, and two other officers, had just gone over to the enemy.

A drum-major, who deserted from the French ranks some hours before General Bourmont and his two companions, was conducted, under an escort, to the head quarters of Field-marshal Blucher at Namur, where he gave the first intelligence of Na-

poleon's intended attack. This was confirmed by M. M. de Bourmont, Clouet, and Villoutreys, who added details with which the drum-major could not possibly be acquainted. Thus treachery, or disaffection to Napoleon, was not confined to Paris.

To obviate the ill effects which these desertions were calculated to produce, Napoleon immediately made such alterations as he thought necessary, and then continued his march.

On the 15th, he was at Jumiguan on the Eure: at three o'clock, his army moved in three columns, suddenly debouching at Beaumont, Maubege, and Philippeville. Having arrived at the Sambre, the Prussians that disputed the passage were driven to Charleroi, where the inhabitants saluted the French with continued shouts of "France for ever! Long live the emperor!" During this time, the second corps passed the Sambre at Marchiennes, where the Prussians were again beaten and dispersed, and eventually retired to the heights of Fleurus, where they were broken and annihilated; but they sold the victory dear.

The affairs of Quartre-Bras and Ligny soon followed. Marshal Blucher, conscious that the possession of Ligny would be highly advantageous to the French, commenced a battle, one of the most obstinate mentioned in history. For five hours two hundred pieces of cannon deluged the field with slaughter. All this time the French and Prussians, alternately the vanquished and the victors, disputed this ensanguined post hand to hand, and it was taken and retaken seven times in succession. The smoking ruins of Ligny and St. Amand were heaped with the dead and dying; the ravine before Ligny resembled a river of blood, on which carcasses

were floating. At Quatre-Bras there was a similar spectacle: a hollow way, that skirted the wood, was filled up with the bleeding corpses of the brave Scotch, and French cuirassiers. The imperial guard fought with shouts of "The emperor for ever! No quarter!" General Gerard's corps, having expended all their ammunition, called out for more cartridges and more Prussians. The loss of the Prussians was estimated at 25,000 men, occasioned by the tremendous fire of the French artillery Blucher, unhorsed by the cuirassiers, escaped them only by a miracle. The prince of Brunswick himself, and a number of officers of distinction, were killed. The French lost near 5000 men and several generals. Prince Jerome, previously wounded at the passage of the Sambre, had his hand slightly grazed by a musket shot. He remained constantly at the head of his division.

At Ligny, the French lost General Gerard, who was mortally wounded, and six thousand five hundred men. The victory of Ligny did not quite satisfy the emperor: he said, "If Marshal Ney had attacked the English with all his forces, he would have crushed them, and he might have come to have given the Prussians the finishing blow. However, the English army was separated from the Prussians; and Napoleon, without losing time, was for attacking the English at day-break; but so many objections were made to his plan, that he consented to let the army repose.

On the 17th, he divided his troops into two columns; one, of sixty-five thousand men, led by Napoleon, followed the English. The light artillery, the lancers of General Colbert and Colonel Sourd kept close after them to the entrance of the fores-

of Soignes, where the duke of Wellington took up his position. The other column, thirty-six thousand strong, under Marshal Grouchy, was detached to observe and pursue the Prussians.

The night of the 17th was dreadful, and seemed to presage the calamities of the day. The violent and incessant rain did not allow of a moment's rest to the army. The bad state of the roads hindered the arrival of provisions, and most of the soldiers were without food. The emperor thought that Lord Wellington, separated from the Prussians, would not venture to maintain his position in the forest, and, next morning, was surprised that the English had not quitted their positions, but, on the contrary, were disposed to accept battle. He made several generals reconnoitre the English, and from one of them he learned, that they were defended "by an army of cannons, and mountains of infantry." Napoleon immediately ordered General Grouchy to push the Prussians briskly, and to approach the main army as speedily as possible, as he was probably about to engage in a grand battle. In the meanwhile, Blucher had escaped Grouchy, and opened a communication with Wellington through Ohaim. The French officer, who carried the emperor's letter to Grouchy, thought proper to take an immense circuit. In the interval, the officers consulted by the emperor were of different sentiments. Some of the most brave, but more prudent than others, remonstrated that the ground was deluged by rain; that the troops, the cavalry in particular, could not manœuvre, whilst the English army would have the immense advantage of awaiting the French on firm ground in its intrenchments, and that it would be better to en-

deavour to turn these. The emperor, having heard all, determined to attack the English in front.

During the preceding night, the emperor had given all the necessary orders for the battle of the next day, although many things indicated that it would not take place. In the four days that had elapsed since hostilities had commenced, by a brilliant victory he had surprised and separated the two armies, the English and the Prussians. This was much for his glory, but not enough for the situation in which he was placed. Had it not been for three hours' delay, which his left, under Marshal Ney, had occasioned, in the afternoon of the 17th, he would have attacked Wellington and the allies on that day, which might have crowned the success of the campaign. As it was, the emperor went out on foot, about one in the morning, accompanied by his grand marshal. He visited the whole line of main guards. The forest of Soignes, occupied by the British, appeared like one continued blaze; the horizon between that spot and the farms of La Belle Alliance and La Haye Sainte was brightened with the fires of numerous bivouacks; the most profound silence reigned. The Anglo-Belgian army was wrapped in sleep, owing to the fatigues it had undergone on the four preceding days. Arriving near the wood of Hougoumont, he heard the noise of a column in march, which soon ceased, and the rain fell in torrents. Several officers, sent to reconnoitre, and others, who returned to headquarters at half past three, confirmed the opinion that the British had made no movement. At four o'clock, the scouts brought in a peasant, who had served as a guide to a brigade of English cavalry, which went to take a position on the left, at the vil-

lage of Ohaim. Two Belgian deserters, who had just quitted their regiments, reported that their army were preparing for battle, and that no retrograde movement had taken place; that Belgium prayed for the success of the emperor, while the English and the Prussians were equally unpopular there.

The forces shown by the enemy were estimated differently; but the French officers, most accustomed to these calculations, considered them, including the corps of flankers, to amount to ninety thousand men, which agreed with the general accounts that were given. The French army was now only sixty-nine thousand strong, but still victory appeared to be certain. The sixty-nine thousand men were good troops; whereas, in the enemy's army, the English only, amounting to forty thousand at most, could be reckoned as such.

At eight o'clock, the emperor's breakfast was served up: to this many general officers sat down. "The enemy's army," said Napoleon, "is superior to ours by nearly a fourth; there are, notwithstanding, ninety chances in our favour to ten against us." —"Without doubt," said Marshal Ney, who had just entered, "if the duke of Wellington were simple enough to wait for your majesty; but I come to announce, that his columns are already in full retreat, and are disappearing in the forest of Soignes."—"You have seen badly," replied the emperor; "it is too late: he would expose himself to certain ruin by such a step: he has thrown the dice—they are now for us." At this moment some officers of artillery, who had rode over the plain, stated that the artillery could manœuvre, though with difficulty, which would be greatly diminished

in another hour. The emperor mounted immediately, and went to the skirmishers opposite La Haye Sainte. After some moments' reflection, he dictated the order of battle. The army now moved forward, marching in eleven columns, which formed, with so much precision, that no confusion whatever arose. The emperor went through the ranks: it would be difficult to express the enthusiasm which animated all the soldiers; the infantry elevated their caps on their bayonets; the cuirassiers, dragoons, and light cavalry, their helmets on their sabres. Meanwhile the emperor gave his last orders, and proceeded, at the head of his guard, to the summit of the six W's, on the heights of Rossomme. From this spot he had a complete view of the two armies, the prospect extending far to the right and left of the field of battle. Marshal Ney obtained the honour of commanding the grand attack of the centre. He sent one of his aids-de-camp to say that every thing was ready. Before giving his final orders, the emperor wished to cast another glance over the whole, and perceived, in the direction of St. Lambert, a dark mass, which appeared to him like troops. Upon this he asked the adjutant-general what he saw near St. Lambert. "I think I see five or six thousand men," replied the general. "It is probably Grouchy." All the glasses of the staff were now fixed in that direction. The weather was rather foggy. Some maintained they were not troops, but merely trees, which were perceived; while others said, columns were in position there.

This state of uncertainty was ended by the order for three thousand light cavalry to effect a junction, if they belonged to Marshal Grouchy, or to keep them in check, if they were ene-

mies. In a quarter of an hour, a Prussian black hussar was brought in, who was the bearer of a letter, was very intelligent, and gave all the information required. It then appeared, that the column at St. Lambert was the advanced guard of the Prussian General Bulow, who was coming up with thirty thousand men. The duke of Dalmatia immediately despatched the intercepted letter, and the report of the hussar, to Marshal Grouchy, to whom he reiterated the order to march without delay on St. Lambert, and to take General Bulow's corps in the rear. It was now eleven o'clock: the officer had only to proceed four or five leagues to reach Marshal Grouchy, and he promised to be with that officer in an hour. A short time after, General Daumont sent to say, that some well-mounted scouts, that preceded him, had met patrols of the enemy in the vicinity of St. Lambert; and that he had sent chosen patrols, in various directions, to communicate with Marshal Grouchy, for the purpose of conveying orders and reports. The emperor immediately ordered Count Lobau to cross the causeway of Charleroi, and to support the light cavalry towards St. Lambert; choosing a good intermediate position, where he might, with ten thousand men, check thirty thousand Prussians, if necessary, or to attack them briskly the moment he should hear the first cannon-shots of the troops which it was supposed Marshal Grouchy had detached in their rear. These events caused some change in the emperor's first plan of the battle: he was already deprived of ten thousand men, whom he was thus obliged to send against General Bulow. He no longer had any more than fifty-nine thousand men against ninety thousand of the enemy, who

had just been re-enforced by thirty thousand men, and already ranged in the field of battle. "We had ninety chances for us in the morning," said he to the duke of Dalmatia; "the arrival of Bulow makes us lose thirty; but we have still sixty against forty; and, if Grouchy repairs the horrible fault he has committed, by amusing himself at Gembloux, the victory will be thereby the more decisive; for the corps of Bulow must in that case be entirely lost."

It was now noon; the skirmishers were engaged on all the line; but there was no severe action, except on the left, in the wood, and at the castle of Hougoumont. The emperor sent an order to Marshal Ney to commence the fire of his batteries, take possession of the farm of La Haye Sainte, occupy the village, and thus intercept all communication between the enemy and Bulow's corps. Eighty guns soon made an immense havoc over all the left of the English line: one of its divisions was entirely destroyed by round and case-shot. In the meanwhile, the emperor perceived that the English general was preparing a grand charge of cavalry on the left, and he galloped to the spot; the charge had been made, and repulsed a column of infantry, which advanced on the low ground, taken two eagles, and disorganized seven pieces of cannon. A brigade of Milhaud's cuirassiers being ordered to charge the enemy's horse, they were broken in their turn, and the greatest part of them remained on the field; the guns were retaken, and the infantry protected. Many charges of infantry and cavalry followed; and, after three hours' fighting, the farm of La Haye Sainte, in spite of the resistance of the Scotch regiments, was occupied

by the French infantry. The fifth and sixth English divisions were destroyed. General Picton remained dead on the field. During this combat, the emperor rode through the line of the cuirassiers and that of the guard, in the middle of the discharges of the enemy's musketry and artillery; the brave General Devaux was killed by his side: General Lallemand succeeded him, and was wounded soon after.

Disorder at this time began to prevail in the English army: the baggage, wagon-train, and wounded, seeing the French approach the causeway of Brussels, and the principal opening of the forest, hastened to effect their retreat: all the English, Belgians, and Germans, who had been sabred by the cavalry, precipitated themselves on Brussels. It was now four o'clock, and victory might then have decided for Napoleon, had not General Bulow's corps effected its powerful diversion. At two o'clock, the emperor learned from Gembloux, that Marshal Grouchy, instead of setting out from that place at dawn of day, had not quitted his camp there at ten o'clock!

As the Prussians now approached, the fire from their field-pieces fell on the causeway in front and rear of La Belle Alliance, where the emperor was standing with his guard; and the Prussian case-shot ploughed up the ground. The emperor then ordered General Duhesme to advance with the young guard; in a quarter of an hour their formidable artillery commenced its fire, and soon acquired the superiority; undulations were observed in the Prussian lines; but they still continued outflanking the French right, till opposed by Lieutenant General Morand, with four battalions of the old

guard, and sixteen pieces of cannon. General Bulow was repulsed, and by degrees his whole line fell back. It was now seven o'clock.

Two hours had elapsed since the count Saint d'Erlon had taken possession of La Haye Sainte, outflanked all the English left, and the right of General Bulow. The English cavalry, being repulsed by the cuirassiers and the chasseurs of the guard, abandoned all the field of battle between La Haye Sainte and Mount St. Jean, which the whole of their left had occupied, and were deprived of all means of retreat on the right. On seeing these brilliant charges, cries of victory were heard all over the field, upon which the emperor said, "It is too soon by an hour; but we must support what is done." He then sent an order to the cuirassiers of Kellerman, who were on the left, to move briskly to support the cavalry on the low grounds. At this moment, General Bulow threatened the flank and rear of the army; it was important not to make any retrograde motion, but to maintain this position, though prematurely taken. At this critical moment, the rapid advance of three thousand cuirassiers, defiling under the cannonade of the Prussians, and shouting "Live the emperor!" made a happy diversion. The cavalry advanced as if in pursuit of the English army; but the army of General Bulow still made some progress on the French flank and rear. The soldiers and officers sought to divine in the look of the chief, whether they were conquerors or in danger, while he breathed nothing but confidence. It was the fiftieth regular battle in which Napoleon had commanded within twenty years. In the mean time, the division of the heavy cavalry of the guard, in the second line, under General Guyot,

behind Kellerman's cuirassiers, followed at a brisk trot to the low ground. On perceiving this movement the emperor sent Count Bertrand to recall it; *for it was his reserve*: but it was too late, and a retrograde movement was still dangerous. Thus was the emperor deprived of his reserve of cavalry ever since five o'clock. This reserve, if properly applied, might have given him the victory: still these twelve thousand select horse performed prodigies of valour; overthrew all the more numerous cavalry of the enemy, broke through many squares of infantry, disorganized their ranks, took possession of sixty pieces of cannon, and seized six stands of colours in the midst of the squares. These colours were presented to the emperor at Belle Alliance, by three chasseurs of the guard and three cuirassiers. The English believed the battle lost a second time. Ponsonby's brigade, being charged by the red lancers of the guard, commanded by General Colbert, was broken through, and its general overthrown by several lance wounds. The prince of Orange was severely wounded, and on the point of being taken: but, the brave cavalry not being supported, as a strong mass of infantry was still necessary to repel General Bulow's attack, they were obliged to confine themselves to the preservation of the field of battle, which had been conquered.

About seven o'clock, when Bulow's division was repulsed, the cavalry still keeping its ground, the victory was gained; sixty-nine thousand French had beaten one hundred and twenty thousand men: joy was in every countenance, and hope in every heart.

But this state of exultation was not to continue: the Prussian marshal Blucher was rapidly approach-

ing the scene of action with thirty thousand fresh troops. Wellington, who was in full retreat, now halted. This general had been in the utmost despair, often wishing "that either night or the Prussians would come;" but now, instead of defeat, he saw his safety. The brigade of English cavalry, which was at Ohaim, also joined him; while the French saw the victory snatched out of their hands by the arrival of Marshal Blucher, with thirty thousand fresh troops, which increased the allied army in line to nearly one hundred and fifty thousand men; that is to say, in a proportion of two and a half against one. Perceiving these numerous columns arrive, some regiments made a retrograde movement: the emperor perceived this: it was of the highest importance to restore firmness to the cavalry; and, seeing that it would take him a quarter of an hour more to rally his guard, he put himself at the head of four battalions, and advanced on the left in front of La Haye Sainte, sending aids-de-camp along the whole line to cheer the troops, by pretending that Marshal Grouchy had arrived, and that with a little firmness victory would be restored. But, in a word, all the efforts of the French were useless; the plain, of which they had been in possession, was soon inundated by the enemy; La Haye was retaken, and two thousand English cavalry penetrated between General Reille and the guard. The disorder now became dreadful throughout the field of battle. The emperor put himself under the protection of one of the squares of his troops. The night greatly augmented the disorder. If the troops could have seen the emperor, they might have rallied; whereas nothing could be done with certainty. The guard retreated; the fire of

the enemy was only four hundred toises in the rear of the army, and the causeways were cut off. Four pieces of cannon, which were planted there, kept up a brisk fire upon the plain; the last discharge wounded Lord Uxbridge. The emperor could not retreat except through the fields: there was no time to be lost: cavalry, artillery, infantry, were all confusedly mingled together. The staff, only, gained the little town of Gemappe, hoping to be able to rally a rear-guard there: but the disorder was horrible; all its efforts were made in vain. It was now eleven o'clock.

The allies, according to their own accounts, lost sixty thousand men, viz. eleven thousand three hundred English; three thousand five hundred Hanoverians; eight thousand Belgians, troops of Nassau, Brunswick, &c.: the loss of the Anglo-Belgian army amounted to twenty-two thousand eight hundred; to which add thirty-eight thousand Prussians; this makes a general total of sixty thousand eight hundred men. The losses of the French, including those during the route, and till their arrival at Paris, were nearly forty thousand.

Independent of the fault on the part of Grouchy, in not coming up to the field of battle, the French accounts allow, "that many other causes had great influence upon the fortunes of that day. In other times, the French, though so inferior in number, would have gained the victory; which, indeed the obstinate and unyielding bravery of the English troops *alone* prevented them from obtaining."

At the most critical juncture of this battle, when the irresistible firmness of the British had been put to the severest test, the army, who, with the general himself, had begun to doubt the fortune of the day,

as one of the English writers observed, "were suddenly and unexpectedly cheered by hearing the sound of the Prussian cannon." It was also remarked, that the French had retired from the last attack in confusion, and therefore the duke of Wellington immediately advanced with the whole line of his infantry and cavalry, and, attacking the enemy in his turn, succeeded in forcing him from the heights before in his possession, while the Prussians, under Marshal Blucher, were equally active and successful on the enemy's flank. About nine o'clock, the French gave up the field, leaving behind them, as far as Lord Wellington could judge, one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, with ammunition, &c.

A French author relates, that, at the close of the battle of Waterloo, when the charge made by Napoleon had failed, and the English charged in their turn, some of their cavalry, with some tiralleurs, approached within a hundred and fifty toises of where the emperor was standing, with only Soult, Drouot, Bertrand, and himself. Close to them was a small French battalion, drawn up in a square. Some shots from two or three field-pieces, discharged to drive away the English cavalry, which still continued to approach, carried away the Marquis of Anglesea's leg. Napoleon then placed himself with the column, and wanted to charge, exclaiming, "*Il faut mourir ici ; il faut mourir sur le champ de battaille*—We must die here ; we must die on the field of battle !"—The English were still firing at them, and they expected every moment to be charged. Soult, laying hold of Napoleon's bridle, exclaimed, that he would not be killed, but taken prisoner ; and finally, with the others, compelled

him to leave the field. Napoleon was so fatigued, that, on the road to Gemappe, he would have frequently fallen from his horse, had he not been supported by General Gorgaud and two other persons, who were his only attendants for some time.

Of the melancholy catastrophe of this battle, we have also the following account: "One last battalion of reserve, the illustrious and unfortunate remains of the granite column of Marengo, had remained unshaken. The emperor retired into the ranks of these brave men, still commanded by Cambron. He formed them into a square, and advanced at their head to meet the enemy. All his generals, Ney, Soult, Bertrand, Drouot, Corbineau, Flahaut, Labedoyére, Gorgaud, &c. drew their swords, and became soldiers. The old grenadiers, incapable of fear for their own lives, conjured the emperor to withdraw: 'Retire,' said one of them; 'Death shuns you.' The officers around him seized his bridle, and dragged him away. Cambron and his brave men crowded round their expiring eagles, and bade Napoleon an eternal adieu. The English, moved by their heroic resistance, conjured them to surrender. 'No,' said Cambron; 'the guard can die, but not yield.' At the same time they all rushed on the enemy with shouts of, 'Long live the emperor!' The English and Prussians, from whom they still detained the palm of victory, united against this band of heroes, and cut them down. Some, covered with wounds, fell to the ground weltering in their blood; others, more fortunate were killed outright; in fine, those whose hope were not answered by death, shot one another, tha they might not survive their companions in arms, o die by the hands of their enemies."

Respecting Marshal Grouchy, it appears, that, conformably to the first orders given him, he confined himself to observing the Prussians. On the 18th, at nine in the morning, he quitted his cantonments, to march to Wavres. When he reached Walhain, he heard the cannonading at Mont St. Jean. Its continually increasing briskness left no doubt that it was an extremely serious affair. General Excelmans proposed to march towards the guns by the right bank of the Dyle. "Do you not feel," said he to the marshal, "that the firing makes the ground trem[illegible] under our feet? Let us march straight toward[illegible] where they are fighting." But [illegible]e marshal co[illegible]nued his slow movements, and at two o'clock arrived before Wavres. At seven o'clock, he received, according to his own account, the order from the major-general to march to St. Lambert, and attack Bulow, which step ought to have been suggested to him, before that time, by the tremendous cannonading at Waterloo, and by the order, given in the first despatch received in the morning, to draw near to the grand army. On the 22d, the whole of Grouchy's corps was assembled at Rocroi; on the 24th, it formed a junction with the wreck of the army of Waterloo, and, on the 25th, it marched from Rheims to the capital.

CHAPTER XII.

Arrival of Napoleon at Paris—His Embarrassment and Despondency—His Enemies among the Deputies—The Chamber declares itself in a State of Permanence—Hostility between the Emperor and the Chambers—Agrees to abdicate—Declaration to the French People, proclaiming Napoleon II. Emperor of the French—Marshal Grouchy's Army enters France—Napoleon removes to Malmaison—Arrives at Rochefort—Goes on board the Bellerophon—Arrives at Plymouth—His Protest against the Violation of his Liberty—Goes on board the Northumberland—His Conduct—Affection of the Empress Marie Louise.

On Napoleon's arrival at Paris, he went to the Elyseum, where he was received by the duke of Vicenza, his censor in prosperity, his friend in adversity. He appeared sinking under grief and fatigue: his breast was affected; his respiration difficult. After a painful sigh, he said to the duke, "The army performed prodigies; a panic terror seized it; all was lost. Ney conducted himself like a madman; he got my cavalry massacred for me. I can say no more; I must have two hours' rest, to enable me to set about business; I am choking here;" and he laid his hand upon his heart. After having ordered a bath, and a few moments' silence, he said, "My intention is to assemble the two chambers in an imperial sitting, and demand from them the means of saving the country." The duke of Vicenza informed him that the deputies appeared more hostile than ever; that he was sorry to see him in Paris; that it would have been better not to have separated from the army.—"I have no longer an army," said the emperor. "I have nothing but fugitives. I shall find

men, but I have no muskets left. I think you have formed a wrong judgment of the deputies; the majority is good; only Lafayette, Lanjuinais, Flauguerge, and a few others, are against me."—The arrival of the princes Joseph and Lucien interrupted the emperor. They confirmed the duke of Vicenza's opinion of the disaffection of the chamber, and advised Napoleon to postpone the assembling of an imperial session.

Whilst he was in the bath, the ministers and great officers of state hastened to the Elyseum, anxiously questioning the aids-de-camp and officers who had returned with Napoleon. They told the whole truth; said that it was all over with the emperor, and that France could only be saved by his abdication.

Soon after assembling his council, he said to Count Regnault, "Speak plainly; it is my abdication they want, is it not?"—"I believe so, sire: painful as it is to me, it is my duty to open your majesty's eyes to your true situation. It is even possible, that, if you should not resolve to offer it of your own accord, the chamber would venture to demand your abdication."

Prince Lucien proposed dispensing with the chamber, and that Napoleon should declare himself dictator, in which he was seconded by Carnot. The emperor, interposing, said he did not fear the deputies: do what they might, he would still be the idol of the people and the army. A single word from him would cause all the deputies to be knocked on the head "But while I fear nothing on my own account, I fear every thing for France."

Whilst Napoleon was flattering himself that the opinions of his ministers, previously divided, were

upon the point of coming to a favourable issue, the council was interrupted by a message from the chamber of representatives, declaring that the independence of the nation was threatened; that the chamber was in a state of permanence, and that any attempt to dissolve it should be considered high treason; that the army of the line, and national guard, who had fought, and still fought, had deserved well of their country. The ministers of war, of foreign affairs, and of the interior, were also desired to repair immediately to the assembly. It was evident that the whole of these articles were an usurpation of the sovereign authority. The emperor now, for the first time, saw his error. "I was right," said he, "in thinking that I ought to dismiss those fellows before I departed; it is all over; they are upon the point of ruining France." He broke up the sitting, saying, "*If it must be so, I will abdicate.*"

At length the ministers, with Prince Lucien at their head, were introduced into the chamber of deputies. The prince announced himself as commissioner extraordinary, bearing the emperor's message, which contained a brief sketch of the disasters experienced at Mont St. Jean, and suggested the formation of a committee of five members from each of the chambers, to concert with ministers the proper measures for securing the public safety, and treating for a peace with the combined powers. The ministers were overwhelmed with questions as absurd as they were arrogant, from all the deputies who had risen. M. Henry Lacoste was able, after many unsuccessful attempts, to make himself heard. "The veil, then, is torn," said he; "our misfortunes are made known. You talk to us of

peace; but what new basis will you give to your negotiations? You know, as well as we, that Europe has declared war against Napoleon alone. Will you henceforth separate the nation from Napoleon? For my part, I declare I see but one man between us and peace. Let him speak, and the country will be saved." This was plain enough for the abdication, and called up Prince Lucien and others, who accused the allies of endeavouring to separate the nation from Napoleon, in order to vanquish and subdue it. The friends of Napoleon seemed as if they would gain a majority in his favour, when M. de Lafayette, obtaining a hearing, said,—"You accuse us of failing in our duties towards Napoleon. Have you forgotten all that we have done for him; that we followed him in the sands of Africa, and in the deserts of Russia; and that the bones of our sons and brothers every where attest our fidelity?"—A number of voices were now heard together in confusion, accusing or defending Napoleon; but at length it was agreed, that a committee of five members should be formed, to concert measures with ministers. Prince Lucien afterwards obtained the same concession from the chamber of peers. It is sufficient to add, that, after Napoleon had said, the chambers "dare not" compel him to abdicate, he sent them word, "that, if he were an obstacle to the nation's being admitted to treat of its independence, he should always be ready to make the sacrifice required of him."

Importunities on this subject assailed the emperor from all his friends. Prince Lucien, who had never ceased to advise him to make head against the storm, was now joined by Prince Joseph, and both agreed that the time was passed, and that it was

necessary to submit. The resistance of the emperor was overcome, and, with an ironical smile, he said to the duke of Otranto, "Write to those gentlemen to make themselves easy: they shall soon be satisfied."

Prince Lucien then took up the pen, and wrote, from the dictation of his brother, the following

DECLARATION TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE:

"In commencing a war to maintain the independence of the nation, I reckoned on the joint efforts of all, the unanimity of all, and the concurrence of all the national authorities. From these, I had reason to hope for success, and I set at defiance all the declarations of the foreign powers against me.

"Circumstances appear to be changed: I offer up myself as a sacrifice to the animosity of the enemies of France: may they prove themselves sincere in their declarations, and that they really aimed at me, personally, alone! My political life is at an end: and I proclaim my son, under the title of Napoleon II., emperor of the French.

"The present ministers will form provisionally the council of government. The interest I feel in what concerns my son, induces me to desire the chambers to form a new regency without delay by a law.

"Unite, all of you, for the public safety, and to remain an independent nation.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON.

"*Palace of the Elyseum,*
June the 22*d,* 1815."

When this declaration was sent to the chambers, Fouché, the duke of Otranto, who had been one of the greatest intriguers, recommended Napoleon to their attention and protection. In return, they sent him a deputation, expressing the respect and gratitude with which they accepted the noble sacrifice he had made to the independence and happiness of the French people. These congratulations were coldly received. The chamber of peers followed the example of the deputies; and the emperor recommended to them not to forget that he had abdicated only in favour of his son.

Just after the abdication had been made known, the army of Marshal Grouchy, which was supposed to have been destroyed, entered France; and it appeared that Prince Jerome, Marshal Soult, Generals Morand, Colbert, and others, had succeeded in rallying the wreck of Waterloo, and formed a body of fifty or sixty thousand men, whose sentiments in favour of Napoleon had undergone no alteration.

Whilst the chamber of deputies continued to discuss a number of questions, without coming to any specific conclusions, Fouché began to be uneasy at Napoleon's residence being so near them as the Elyseum. His party first requested that the chamber should require the ex-emperor, in the name of the country, to remove from the capital; but, this having no effect, endeavours were made to frighten him, by suggestions that attempts were making against his life. It is acknowledged that nothing could have been more easy than to carry off or assassinate Napoleon. His palace, which, a few days before, could scarcely contain the crowd of ambitious men and servile courtiers, soon became a

vast solitude. Even his guard had been reduced to a few old grenadiers, whilst a single sentinel, scarcely in uniform, watched his gate. But, lest his residing in an imperial palace might cause the sincerity of his abdication to be called in question, Napoleon himself determined to remove.

On the 25th, at noon, Napoleon set off for Malmaison, where he was received by the princess Hortensia. Her situation and that of her brother must have wounded her to the heart, yet she found sufficient strength of mind to suppress her sorrows, and console Napoleon's attendants. "Restraining her own tears," said M. Fleury, "she reminded us, with the wisdom of a philosopher and the sweetness of an angel, that we should submit with docility to the decrees of Providence."

At Malmaison, Napoleon, in a great measure recovered his spirits, activity and energy, and he could not suppress his desire of sending an address to the brave soldiers of the army before Paris, dated Malmaison, June 25th, 1815, and concluding—"Yet a few efforts, and the coalition is dissolved." This address the government would not allow to be published in the Moniteur.

The complaints, the regrets, the threats, that escaped Napoleon every day, alarmed the promoters of his fall more and more. Upon reflection they turned pale at the name of Napoleon, and solicited the government, night and day, to make him embark as soon as possible. His first intention was to go to England, and there place himself under the protection of hospitality and the laws. The advice of others induced him to incline to the United States. An American captain at Havre had been completely gained; and several Ameri

cans at Paris wrote to him, of their own accord, to offer their services, and assure him, in the name of their fellow-citizens, that he would be received at Washington with the sentiments of respect, admiration, and devotion, that were his due; but Napoleon refused these offers; though he would have accepted of two frigates from the French government, to have conveyed him to America, provided they would place them at his disposal, with necessary passports and safe conducts from Lord Wellington; but it seems the French government was not desirous at bottom of letting Napoleon depart. In fact, he was a prisoner at Malmaison, from the time that General Count Beker, a member of the chamber of deputies, was named commander of the emperor's guard, and directed to Malmaison to watch over the conservation of the person of Napoleon, and to prevent ill-disposed persons from making use of his name to excite disturbances. When Count Beker first came there, it was supposed he had orders to arrest Napoleon; and Gorgaud and some officers swore no one should lay a hand on him. However, this officer had already explained the nature of his mission; and the emperor ordered his attendants to pay General Beker a proper respect. It is said he knew perfectly well how to reconcile his duty with the attentions that were due to Napoleon. Still the princess Hortensia was so affected by this circumstance, that she exclaimed, "O, my God!" lifting her eyes to heaven, "was I born to see the emperor a prisoner to the French at Malmaison?"

Thus Napoleon remained at Malmaison, almost alone, till the minister of marine came to inform him that the enemy were at Compeigne, and that the com-

mittee, apprehensive for his safety, requested him to depart *incog.* He promised to depart; but, when he heard the distant sound of cannon, his whole body thrilled, and he lamented, in a tone of despair, that he was condemned to remain far from the field of battle. He ordered General Beker to be called, and prevailed on him to go to Paris, and convey a letter to the government, offering to take the command of the army, and beat the enemy; not that he intended to seize the sovereign power, but to pursue his journey as soon as victory should have given a favourable turn to the negotiations with foreign powers. The duke of Otranto read the letter of Napoleon aloud, and exclaimed, "Is he laughing at us!" His proposal was rejected; though it is clear that he had different expectations, having ordered his chargers to be saddled immediately after Beker's departure. When he returned to Malmaison, the emperor snatched the answer of the committee out of his hand, and, after reading it, exclaimed, "I was sure of it; these people have no energy. Well, general, since it is so, let us be gone." He then despatched M. de Flahaut to Paris, to concert measures for his departure. The prince of Echmuhl was at the Tuilleries when M. de Flahaut arrived. "This Bonaparte of yours," said he, in a tone of anger and contempt, "will not depart: but we must get rid of him. Tell him from me, that he must go, and that if he do not depart immediately, I will arrest him myself." M. de Flahaut, fired with indignation, answered, "I could not have believed, M. Marshal, that a man, who was at the knees of Napoleon a week ago, could, to-day, hold such language. I have too much respect for the person and misfortunes of the empe-

ror, to report to him your words:—go yourself, M. Marshal." When De Flahaut returned, the emperor easily divined that something had cut him to the quick, and, being told, with some reluctance, all that had passed he said, "Remain in the army, and, like me, forget the prince of Echmuhl and his dastardly menaces."

After Napoleon had spent several days in listening to the various proposals of his friends, as to where he should go, he at length resolved to intrust his fate "to fortune and to the winds." But the committee, advised by a despatch from the French plenipotentiaries, "that the escape of Napoleon before the conclusion of the negotiations would be considered as an act of bad faith," informed him that he must wait anew the arrival of the safe conduct. Thus he was obliged to remain.

M. Fleury then went to Paris, and learned that the Prussians designed to carry off the emperor; that Blucher had said, "If I can catch Bonaparte, I will hang him up at the head of my army;" and that Wellington had strenuously opposed this cowardly design. The emperor, after this, took some measures to secure himself against a surprise; but they were needless; the friends that were about his person would have shed their last drop of blood in his defence.

At half after three in the morning, he was informed that Lord Wellington had refused the safe conducts, and he was consequently obliged to depart immediately. When all was ready, he pressed the princess Hortensia to his bosom, and tenderly embraced his friends, melting into tears; but his demeanour was firm, his voice calm, and his countenance serene.

On the 29th of June, at five in the afternoon, he threw himself into a carriage prepared for his suite, and made General Gorgaud and his orderly officers take that intended for himself. His eyes were several times turned to that last abode, so long the witness of his happiness and power.

When they left Malmaison, Las Cases and part of the emperor's suite took the road to Rochefort by Tours. On the 1st of July, they passed through Limoges; and, on the 2d, dined at Rochefaucault, and reached Jarnac about seven, at which place they were detained all night and part of the next day, by the ill will and misconduct of the post-master, so that they were obliged to proceed full speed to Cognac. On reaching Saintes, towards eleven o'clock, they were dreadfully annoyed by some furious miscreants collected by an officer of the royal guard, whom Napoleon's return from Elba had displaced. This person had prepared an ambuscade, and, it was understood, would have assassinated Napoleon or his attendants, had they not been rescued by a part of the national guard, who conducted them as prisoners to an inn. Here some of the most distinguished inhabitants, and, above all, the women, were the most outrageous in calling out for vengeance. In the evening the face of affairs had changed almost to the opposite extreme. Prince Joseph, arriving at Saintes, increased the agitation: he was arrested, and conducted to the prefecture, but otherwise very respectfully treated.

On the 3d, in the evening, the emperor reached Rochefort, where he no longer wore a military dress: he lived at the prefect's house, about which numbers of people were constantly assembled: he appeared two or three times at the balcony.

numerous proposals were made to him by generals who came in person, and others who sent emissaries. On the 8th, in the evening, the emperor proceeded to Fourras, followed by the acclamations of the people wherever he appeared.

On the 30th of June, the chambers were informed that the enemy was within sight of the capital; and a suspension of arms, requested from Lord Wellington, was refused, under the pretext that Napoleon Bonaparte was in Paris, and at *liberty*. After Lord Wellington had been informed of the departure of Bonaparte, he excused the granting of an armistice till he had conferred with Prince Blucher.

On the 2d of July, a council having been called to decide peremptorily upon the defence or surrender of Paris, it was agreed, unanimously, to deliver it into the hands of the allies, since the allies would not suspend hostilities upon any other condition. The French army, as agreed upon, began its march beyond the banks of the Loire. When the French plenipotentiaries received their dismissal from the head-quarters of the allies at Hagenau, the note that conveyed it to them contained the following passage: "The three powers consider it as an essential condition of peace and real tranquillity, that Napoleon Bonaparte shall be incapable of disturbing the repose of France and of Europe for the future; and, in consequence of the events that occurred in the month of March last, *the powers must insist that Napoleon Bonaparte be placed in their custody.*"

On the 7th of July, at five in the afternoon, several Prussian battalions surrounded the palace where the government was sitting, and they were

compelled to separate. On the 8th, Louis XVIII., in triumph, took possession of his capital and his throne. On the same day, the emperor, who had been some time at Rochefort, went on board the frigate La Saale, prepared to receive him. His suite was put on board the Medusa. On the 9th, the two vessels anchored at the Isle of Aix. Napoleon, who could not leave off acting the emperor, ordered the garrison under arms, and praised or blamed, as if he had still been sovereign master of the state.

On the 10th, an English fleet of eleven vessels were cruising within sight of the port. On the 11th, Napoleon sent to inquire of the English admiral, whether he was authorized to allow him liberty to repair to England, or to the United States? The answer was, "that he was ready to receive Napoleon, and convey him to England." Unsatisfied with this answer, Napoleon had some idea of going on board an American vessel at the mouth of the Gironde, whose captain would have been happy and proud to have received him. He refused the proffered assistance of some young midshipmen, full of courage and devotion, who, with two barks, swore they would forfeit their lives if they did not convey him to New York. On the 14th of July, having given up the idea of attempting the passage to America, he caused the English admiral to be informed, that, on the following day, he would come on board his vessel. On the 15th, in the morning, he went off in the brig L'Epervier, and was received on board the Bellerophon with the honours due to his rank. Yet, when General Beker came alongside with him, he could not help saying, "Withdraw, general: I would not have it believed that a French-

man is come to deliver me into the hands of my enemies." On the 16th, the Bellerophon set sail for England.

The emperor had prepared a letter to the prince regent, which General Gorgaud was directed to carry to him immediately. It was as follows:—

"*Rochefort, July* 13, 1815.

"ROYAL HIGHNESS,

"Exposed to the factions that distract my country, and to the enmity of the greatest powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career; and I come, like Themistocles, to seat myself on the hearth of the British people. I put myself under the protection of its laws, which I claim of your royal highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies."

General Gorgaud had orders to make known to the prince, that it was Napoleon's intention to retire into any of the counties of England, and live peaceably and unknown, under the name of Colonel Duroc.

When he arrived at Plymouth, he was not permitted to land, but was soon informed that the allied powers had decided that he should be treated as a prisoner of war, and be confined at St. Helena. He protested in vain against this violation of his most sacred rights, his liberty, and his person, but finally submitted with calm and majestic resignation.

On the 24th of July, the Bellerophon arrived at Torbay, and, on the 26th, Napoleon sailed to Plymouth, preparatory to his embarkation on board the Northumberland, commanded by Admiral Cockburn,

destined to sail to St. Helena, from which vessel he despatched the following protest to Lord Keith, against his removal to that island:—

"I SOLEMNLY protest, in the face of Heaven and of all men, against the violation of every sacred right towards me, since it is by force that my person and my liberty are disposed of. I voluntarily delivered myself up to the Bellerophon: I am therefore no prisoner, but the guest of England.

"Once embarked on board the Bellerophon, I was under the safeguard of the English people. If the government, when issuing orders to the commander of the vessel to receive me, with all my retinue, only sought to entrap me, it has broken the ties of honour, and disgraced the British flag.

"If this order is to be put into effect, in vain will the English, henceforth, proclaim their integrity, their laws, and their liberty to Europe: hospitality thus violated on board the Bellerophon must for ever compromise the good faith of England.

"I appeal, therefore, to history, which will record that an enemy, who, for twenty years, made war upon the British nation, came freely, in his misfortune, to demand an asylum under the safeguard of their laws. What proof more striking could be given of his esteem and his confidence? But in what manner have the English replied?—They tendered the hand of hospitality to that enemy; and, when he delivered himself up, they sacrificed him!!!

"*On board the Bellerophon at Sea,*
4th of August, 1815.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

Napoleon heard of the decision of the British council respecting him, through the medium of the newspapers, before it was officially announced to him; and at first his rage and mortification were extreme. The official communication was made to him by Sir Henry Bunbury on the 2d of August; and at the same time he was informed, that four of his friends, (with their families,) to be chosen by himself, and twelve of his domestics, would be allowed to attend him into exile. In vain he protested against these measures in the most emphatic manner. On Friday, the 4th of August, the Bellerophon sailed from Torbay, to meet the Northumberland off Berry-head; and, on the Sunday following, Lord Keith and Sir George Cockburn proceeded on board the former ship, to settle with Napoleon the exact period of his intended removal. The ceremony, with which the fallen emperor had hitherto been treated, was now to be discontinued; and the admiral, in approaching him, simply pulled off his hat, and said, "How do you do, *General* Bonaparte?" Surprised at being thus saluted, Napoleon hesitated an instant, and then replied to the inquiry in a slight and laconic manner.

After a long expostulation against the perfidy and injustice practised against him, he concluded by a peremptory refusal to quit the ship. Lord Keith, in reply, observed, that he acted under the orders of his government, and that he hoped he should not be under the necessity of using coercive measures.—"No, no," replied Napoleon; "you command; I must obey. You may take me; but remember, I do not go with my own free will." He then presented to his lordship a formal protest in

writing, in the presence of several witnesses, and appointed the hour of ten next morning to be taken on board the Northumberland. About half-past eleven, on Monday morning, Lord Keith and his attendants came along-side the Bellerophon in the barge. As soon as the baggage was removed, the parting scene commenced; and the separation was truly affecting. All wept; but Marshal Savary and a Polish colonel appeared most deeply affected. The Pole had accompanied Bonaparte through many of his campaigns, and had received seventeen wounds in his service. He clung to his knees, and requested Lord Keith's permission to attend his master, even in the most menial capacity; but the orders of government were peremptory, and this brave officer's request could not possibly be complied with.

Count Bertrand, his wife, and three children; the Count and Countess Montholon, Count Las Cases, and General Gorgaud, with nine men and three woman servants, remained with Bonaparte. Marshal Savary and General L'Allemand were left behind in the Bellerophon, to be sent to Malta; and the remainder of his suite were put on board the Eurotas frigate. M. Maingault, the surgeon of Napoleon, was the only one of his attendants who refused to accompany him, and his place was most fortunately supplied by Mr. O'Meara, the surgeon of the Bellerophon. During the transshipment from the barge, Napoleon exhibited no symptoms of despondency, but, on the contrary, appeared more cheerful than usual. He mounted the side of the vessel with the activity of a seaman, and, advancing to Sir George Cockburn, he said,

"Admiral, I once more protest against the injustice of your country;" and soon after joined in a kind of general conversation.

Whilst on board the Northumberland, it was observed, he stamped the usual impression on every one there, as elsewhere, of his being an extraordinary man. Nothing escaped his notice; his eyes were in every place, and on every object, from the greatest to the most minute. All the general regulations of the service, from the lord high admiral to the seamen—their duties, views, expectations, pay, rank, and comforts, were scanned with characteristic keenness and rapidity. The machinery of the ship—blocks, masts, yards, ropes, rigging, and every thing else—underwent a similar scrutiny. He sent for the boatswain, who, in the French service, usually fits out the ship, to learn the minutest particulars. By his desire, the marines passed in review on the quarter-deck. He examined their arms, dress, and evolutions, with attention, and expressed himself highly satisfied. The grog, tobacco, clothes, food, pay, prize-money, and routine of duty of the seamen, were equally inquired into. When informed that the necessaries were supplied by a purser or commissary, he jocularly remarked, they were sometimes sad rogues.

The ill-fated Marie Louise remained devotedly attached to Napoleon. When he had surrendered himself to England, she applied to learning the English language, with the apparent hope of passing her days with him in this country. Disappointed in that expectation, after he had sailed from Plymouth, she cherished his remembrance by frequent visits to a romantic valley in the neighbourhood of Vienna, called by the same name as the place

of his deportation, St. Helena. In November, 1815, she made a voyage, on board an English vessel, to Porto Ferrajo, in the isle of Elba. After having announced, that the only motive that induced her to come to the island was the desire to visit the house which had been occupied by her husband, Napoleon, she landed, with all her suite, and proceeded directly to the place of her pilgrimage, which she visited with a sort of religious attention and devotion, observing every thing in the minutest detail, and particularly Napoleon's chamber. Arrived in the saloon, she perceived his portrait, and, stopping before it, she said, "Napoleon, I salute thee; I have had, and shall preserve all my life, the greatest esteem for thee." The illustrious lady then passed into the billiard-room, and, some one having presented to her the cue with which he used to play, she signified her desire to have it, and to enclose it in a box as a precious memento. The next day, she returned, and dined at his habitation, where she passed the night. At her departure she appeared satisfied with all that she had seen, and very contented with her voyage.

CHAPTER XIII.

Napoleon on his Voyage to St. Helena—Arrival—Descriptions of the Emperor's Residence at the Briars, at Longwood, &c.—Treatment of Napoleon by Sir Hudson Lowe—Visit of Lord Amherst to Napoleon at St. Helena—Napoleon's great Reliance on the Justice of the Prince Regent—Letters from Count Bertrand to Las Cases, on the Conduct of Sir Hudson Lowe, and the Treatment of the Emperor's Attendants—Note written by Napoleon in the Margin of Sir Thomas Read's Letter.

The course of the Northumberland was shaped to cross the Bay of Biscay, and double Cape Finisterre. The wind was fair, though light, and, for a long time, nothing could be more dull or monotonous than the time passed by Napoleon and his attendants. The emperor breakfasted in his own cabin at any hour, but his suite took theirs at ten, in the French style, while the English continued to breakfast in their own way at eight.

The emperor sent for one of his suite every morning, to know what was going on; as the distance the ship had run, the state of the wind, and other particulars connected with the ship's progress. He read a great deal, dressed at four o'clock, and then came into the general cabin: here he played at chess with one of the party. About five, it was generally announced from the admiral that dinner was ready. Napoleon's two valets stood behind his chair. At first, the admiral was in the habit of offering to help the emperor, but the acknowledgment of Napoleon was expressed so coldly, that this practice was discontinued. The admiral still remained attentive afterwards, but only pointed out

to the servants what was preferable: they alone were employed in these matters. Napoleon was generally silent; and even when French was spoken, he seemed as if unacquainted with it: if he spoke, it was to ask some technical or scientific question, and to address a few words to persons whom the admiral occasionally asked to dinner. Count Las Cases was mostly employed to translate Napoleon's questions into English.

The long dinner-time of the English, occupied by the dessert, drinking, and conversing, was so disagreeable to the emperor, that, after the first day, he rose immediately after coffee had been handed round, and went out on deck, followed by Marshal Bertrand and Count Las Cases. This disconcerted the admiral, who took occasion to express his surprise to his officers; but Madame Bertrand, whose maternal tongue was English, rather warmly replied, "Do not forget, admiral, that your guest is a man who has governed a large portion of the world; and that kings once contended for the honour of being admitted to his table."—"Very true," rejoined the admiral; and this officer, whom Napoleon often praised for his humanity and good sense, did his utmost, ever after, to accommodate the emperor in his habits. He shortened the time of sitting at table, ordering coffee for Napoleon and his suite, even before the rest of the company had finished their dinner. The moment Napoleon had taken his coffee, he rose to leave the cabin; upon which every one stood up till he had quitted the room, and then continued to take their wine for another hour.

The emperor, after dinner, would remain walking upon deck with one or two attendants: this be-

came a regular practice.—Whilst Las Cases was walking with the emperor, at the usual hour, one day, in the stern gallery, Napoleon drew from under his waistcoat, still conversing on a totally different subject, a kind of girdle, which he handed to Las Cases, saying, "Take care of that for me." Without interrupting him, Las Cases placed it under his own waistcoat. The emperor told him soon after, that it contained a diamond necklace, worth two hundred thousand francs, which Queen Hortensia forced him to accept when he left Malmaison in 1815. After they arrived at St. Helena, Las Cases frequently spoke to Napoleon of returning the necklace, but never received any reply. Having mentioned the subject again at Longwood, Napoleon dryly asked, "Does it annoy you?" "No, sire," was the reply. "Keep it, then," said he. From wearing the girdle so long, Las Cases thought so little about it, that it was not till some days after he had been torn from Longwood, that it recurred to his memory. He could not bear the idea of depriving the emperor of such a resource: still he was in the most rigorous confinement, surrounded by gaolers and sentinels. He knew not whom to trust. At last an Englishman, to whom he had often spoken, came to the prison on a particular errand, and Las Cases, being determined to run all risks, addressing this Englishman, said he thought he was a man of principle, and added, "I am going to put it to the test, though in nothing injurious, or contrary to your honour—merely a rich deposit to be restored to Napoleon. If you accept the charge, my son will put it into your pocket." He answered only by slackening his pace, and the necklace was transferred to this man, almost in sight of military attend-

ants. Before Las Cases quitted the island, he had the inexpressible satisfaction of knowing that the necklace had reached the hands of the emperor. How generous such a trait on the part of an enemy, and this under such circumstances!—On returning to the after cabin, the emperor would sit down to play *vingt et un*, but generally retired in half an hour.

On passing the line, where seamen and others, if strangers, are christened, or otherwise ducked, the emperor was scrupulously respected during the whole of this saturnalian festivity, when regard is seldom paid to any one. In return for this consideration, the emperor ordered a hundred Napoleons to be distributed to the grotesque Neptune and his crew.

At length, about seventy days after the Northumberland's departure from England, the ship cast anchor at St. Helena, about noon on the 15th of October, 1815. The emperor, contrary to custom, dressed early, and went on deck to view the island.

The 16th of October terminated the voyage to St. Helena. After dining on board the Northumberland, the emperor, accompanied by the grand marshal, Bertrand, got into a boat to go ashore.

The emperor, before he stepped into the boat, sent for the captain of the ship, and took leave of him, desiring him, at the same time, to convey his thanks to the officers and crew. His words appeared to produce a great sensation on all by whom they were understood, or to whom they were interpreted. The remainder of the emperor's suite landed about eight o'clock. They were accompanied by several of the officers, and every one on board appeared to be sincerely affected at their departure

Thus, in the course of a few weeks, the emperor of the west, the dispenser of crowns and sceptres, found himself immured for life in a small volcanic island, measuring ten miles in length and seven in breadth, at a distance of six thousand miles from the scenes of his immortal exploits in arms, and separated from the two great continents of Africa and America by unfathomable seas.

Count Las Cases found the emperor in the apartment assigned to him. A few minutes after their arrival, he went up stairs to his chamber where his followers were called to attend him. His situation here was no better than it had been on board the vessel. They found themselves lodged in a sort of inn, or hotel.

At six in the morning, the day after, the emperor, the grand marshal, and the admiral, rode to visit Longwood, the house chosen for Napoleon's residence. Napoleon was extremely unwilling to return to the place where he had passed the preceding night, as the sentinels who guarded his doors, and the crowds that curiosity had attracted beneath his windows, were very disagreeable. A small pavilion attached to the place, however, pleased him, and Admiral Cockburn thought he would be more agreeably situated there than in the town. The pavilion, or summer-house, which Napoleon had chosen, was about thirty or forty paces from Mr. Balcombe's dwelling-house, called *the Briars*; and here the family used to retire, in fine weather, to take tea and amuse themselves. In no situation of his past life had the emperor been so wretchedly lodged. The windows had neither curtains nor shutters, and there was scarcely a seat in the room. Whilst the two valets-de-chambre were bustling

about to prepare Napoleon's bed, he took a fancy to walk out a little, but there was no level ground on any side of the pavilion. Las Cases's bed-room, above his, was about seven feet square; there was in it only a bed and a single chair. Young Las Cases had a mattress spread on the floor, and Napoleon's valets slept on the ground at his door, wrapped up in their cloaks. Such was the situation of the emperor the first night he passed at the Briars.

At first, Napoleon's dinner was sent him, ready cooked, from James Town, about a mile and a half distant; but afterwards Mr. Balcombe found means to get a kitchen fitted up for his use.

Mr. Balcombe's family consisted of his wife, two daughters, one about twelve and the other fifteen years of age, and two boys of five or six. The young ladies spoke French fluently, and Napoleon frequently dropped in to play a rubber of whist, or hold a little *conversazione*. On one occasion, he indulged them by participating in a game of blind-man's-buff, very much to the amusement of the young ladies. Nothing was left undone, by this worthy family, that could contribute to lessen the inconveniences of his situation.

He occasionally received some visitors, who came to pay their respects to him on the lawn before the house; and, in a few instances, some, who had received that permission, were presented to him when at Mr. Balcombe's in the evening. He frequently walked, for hours, in the shady paths and shrubberies of the Briars, where care was taken to prevent his being intruded upon. During one of the walks, he stopped, and pointed out to an Englishman the frightful precipices which environed them, and said, "Be

hold your country's generosity! *this* is their liberality to the unfortunate man, who, blindly relying on what he so falsely imagined to be their national character, in an evil hour, unsuspectingly confided himself to them. I once thought that you were free; I now see that your ministers laugh at your laws, which are, like those of other nations, formed only to oppress the defenceless, and screen the powerful, whenever your government has any object in view."

By Napoleon's subsequent removal to the house at Longwood, his situation was by no means improved. His bed-room here was about fourteen feet by twelve, and ten or eleven feet in height. The walls were lined with brown nankeen, bordered and edged with common green bordering paper, and destitute of surbase. Two small windows, without pulleys, looked towards the camp of the 53d regiment, one of which was thrown up, and fastened by a piece of notched wood. There were window-curtains of white long-cloth, a small fire-place, a shabby grate, and fire-irons to match, with a paltry mantel-piece of wood, painted white, upon which stood a small marble bust of his son. Above the mantel-piece hung the portrait of Marie Louise, and four or five of young Napoleon, one of which was embroidered by the hands of the mother. A little more to the right hung also a miniature picture of the empress Josephine; and to the left was suspended the alarm chamber-watch of Frederic the Great, obtained by Napoleon at Potsdam; while on the right the consular watch, engraved with the cipher B, hung, by a chain of the plaited hair of Marie Louise, from a pin stuck in the nankeen lining. The floor was covered with a second-hand carpet, which had once decorated the dining-room of a

lieutenant of the St. Helena artillery. In the right hand corner was placed the little, plain, iron camp bedstead, with green silk curtains, upon which its master had reposed on the fields of Marengo and Austerlitz. Between the windows there was a paltry second-hand chest of drawers; and an old book-case, with green blinds, stood on the left of the door leading to the next apartment. Four or five cane-bottomed chairs, painted green, were standing here and there about the room. Before the back door, there was a screen covered with nankeen, and, between that and the fire-place, an old-fashioned sofa, covered with white long-cloth, upon which reclined Napoleon, clothed in his white morning-gown, white loose trowsers and stockings all in one; a chequered red madras upon his head, and his shirt collar open, without a cravat. His air was melancholy and troubled. Before him stood a little round table with some books, at the foot of which lay in confusion, upon the carpet, a heap of those he had already perused; and at the foot of the sofa, facing him, was suspended a portrait of the empress Marie Louise, with her son in her arms. In front of the fire-place stood Las Cases, with his arms folded over his breast, and some papers in one of his hands. Of all the former magnificence of the once mighty emperor of France, nothing was present except a superb wash-hand stand, containing a silver basin, and a water jug of the same metal, in the left-hand corner.

Napoleon's hours of rising were uncertain, much depending upon the quantum of rest he had enjoyed during the night. He was, in general, a bad sleeper, and frequently got up at three or four o'clock; in which case he read or wrote till six or

seven; at which time, when the weather was fine, he sometimes went out to ride, attended by some of his generals, or laid down again to rest for a couple of hours. When he retired to bed, he could not sleep unless the most perfect state of darkness was obtained, by the closure of every cranny, through which a ray of light might pass; although he was sometimes seen to fall asleep on the sofa, and remain so for a few minutes in broad day-light. When ill, Marchand occasionally read to him until he fell asleep. At times he rose at seven, and wrote or dictated until breakfast-time; or, if the morning was very fine, he went out to ride. When he took breakfast in his own room, it was generally served on a little round table, at between nine and ten; when along with the rest of his suite, at eleven: in either case, *à la fourchette.* After breakfast, he generally dictated to some of his suite for a few hours, and at two or three o'clock, received such visitors as, by previous appointment, had been directed to present themselves. Between four and five, when the weather permitted, he rode out on horseback, or in the carriage, accompanied by all his suite, for an hour or two; then returned, and dictated or read until eight, or occasionally played a game at chess; at which time dinner was announced, which rarely exceeded twenty minutes, or half an hour, in duration. He ate heartily and fast, and did not appear to be partial to high-seasoned or rich food. One of his most favourite dishes was a roasted leg of mutton, of which he sometimes pared the outside brown part off; he was also partial to mutton chops. He rarely drank as much as a pint of claret at his dinner which was generally much diluted with

water. After dinner, when the servants had withdrawn, and when there were no visitors, he sometimes played at chess, or at whist; but more frequently sent for a volume of Corneille, or of some other esteemed author, and read aloud for an hour, or chatted with the ladies and the rest of his suite. He usually retired to his bed-room at ten or eleven, and to rest immediately afterwards. When he breakfasted or dined in private, in his own apartment, he sometimes sent for one of his suite, to converse with him during the repast. He never ate more than two meals a day, nor ever took more than a very small cup of coffee after each repast, and at no other time.

"While dressing, he is attended by Marchand, St. Denis, and Novarre. One of them holds a looking-glass before him, and the other the necessary implements for shaving, while Marchand is in waiting to hand his clothes, *eau de Cologne*, &c. When he has gone over one side of his face with a razor, he asks St. Denis or Novarre, 'Is it done?' and, after receiving an answer, commences on the other. After he has finished, the glass is held before him to the light, and he examines whether he has removed every portion of his beard. If he perceives or feels that any remains, he sometimes lays hold of one of his attendants by the ear, or gives him a gentle slap on the cheek, in a good-humoured manner, crying, 'Ah, *coquin*, why did you tell me it was done?' This, probably, has given rise to the report of his having been in the habit of beating and otherwise ill-treating his domestics. He then washes with water, in which some *eau de Cologne* has been mingled, a little of which he also sprinkles over his person, very carefully picks and

cleans his teeth, frequently has himself rubbed with a flesh-brush, changes his linen and flannel waist coat, and dresses in white kerseymere or brown nankeen breeches, white waistcoat, silk stockings, shoes, and gold buckles, and a green single-breasted coat, with white buttons, black stock, with none of the white shirt collar appearing above it, and a three-cornered small cocked hat, with a little tri-coloured cockade. When dressed, he always wears the cordon and grand cross of the legion of honour. When he has put on his coat, a little *bon-bonnière*, his snuff-box, and handkerchief scented with *eau de Cologne*, are handed to him by Marchand, and he leaves the chamber."

In 1817, the numerous loose and contradictory reports, that had been circulated about the ill-treatment Napoleon Bonaparte received, were confirmed, in a manner beyond doubt or contradiction, by a kind of official communication brought to England by M. Santini, one of Napoleon's suite.

M. Santini affirmed, that, in the course of the year 1816, the emperor was compelled to sell all his plate to procure the first necessaries of life. M. Santini broke it in pieces before it was sent to the market. The produce was deposited, by order of the governor, in the hands of Mr. Balcombe. When the house-steward, wishing to supply the deficiency of the provisions furnished by the governor, made purchases himself, (which happened every day,) he could only pay them by orders upon Mr. Balcombe. When M. Santini did not succeed in shooting a few pigeons in the neighbourhood of their dwelling, the emperor frequently had nothing for breakfast. Provisions did not reach Longwood until two or three o'clock in the afternoon.

There was no water fit for cooking at Longwood. Very good water might, however, have been procured at a distance of 1200 yards, and conveyed to the emperor's barracks at an expense of from 12 to 1500 francs. The house was only supplied by the water brought from this fountain: it was open only once during the day; at all other times it was locked. It was guarded by an English officer, who was scarcely ever present when water was wanted. There was a conduit for conveying water to the English camp; but it was thought unnecessary to do as much for the unfortunate Napoleon.—M. Santini was also the bearer of a letter, or memorial, written to Sir Hudson Lowe by Count Montholon, in the name of Napoleon, in which, besides protesting against the right of England to detain him a prisoner at St. Helena, he confirms the reports of his ill treatment there, and states other particulars before unknown.

Though the delicacy of Count Las Cases prevented him from mentioning to Sir Hudson Lowe the illegal misapplication of the wearing apparel and other necessaries, conveyed from England to St. Helena for the express use of Napoleon, it has been solemnly asserted, that various articles of furniture, and other necessaries, sent out from that country, at the public expense, for the residents at Longwood, not even excepting the shirts made for the personal wear of Napoleon, were appropriated to the use of persons for whom they were never intended.

Immediately after Sir Hudson Lowe's arrival in the island, the scanty supply of fresh butter was discontinued, which, till then, had been sent to Longwood; the milk from which it was produced

being thenceforward taken to Plantation House. The flour was so bad, that Napoleon did not taste bread for three months. He betook himself to a sedentary life; his legs began to swell, and the scurvy attacked his gums. He declared that an intention existed to terminate his life by agonies so protracted, as to make it appear that he died a natural death.

The Cæsar, which brought Lord Amherst over from China in 1817, having occasion to touch at St. Helena, his lordship expressed his desire to be introduced to Napoleon, and, in spite of some obstacles, he was allowed to wait upon him, accompanied by Mr Lynn, surgeon of the Alceste. On the 3d of July, Lord Amherst was ushered into Bonaparte's presence at Longwood, whilst Captain Maxwell and the surgeon waited in an ante-chamber. It was not long before these officers were desired to join. In his conversation with the party, his questions were put with his usual rapidity; indeed, they followed each other in such quick succession, that answers could only be given to those which appeared most marked and important. With his general curiosity, Bonaparte inquired of the officers what stations they filled on board the ship; and, on learning Mr. Lynn was the surgeon, he asked what system of physic he pursued. "That depends upon circumstances," replied the surgeon. "I hope," rejoined Bonaparte, "it is any other than that practised on this island; for here we have the same thing over and over again—bleeding and calomel for ever."

The conversation taking a turn on the mission of Lord Amherst to China, his lordship related the cause of its failure, which he ascribed to the necessity im

posed upon him by the emperor, of smiting the ground nine times with his forehead; an indignity which his lordship intimated could not be submitted to. Here Bonaparte's answer showed the man—"Indeed! Now, had it suited my policy to send an embassador to the emperor of China, I should have instructed him to kiss his great toe; and, if that would not do, he might, if required, have saluted a more offensive part, provided my object could be attained."—In the course of conversation, Bonaparte said he knew of no law which gave the powers of Europe the right of detaining him a prisoner at St. Helena or elsewhere; and strongly urged the propriety of his present situation being taken into consideration by the crowned heads of Europe. Notwithstanding his disappointments, he still affected great reliance on the justice of the prince regent of England, when unconnected with national policy, and the influence of ministers; and, with this impression on his mind, he expressed an anxious wish that Lord Amherst would be the bearer of a letter from him to his royal highness, which had been prepared some time, with the intention of forwarding it to England.

The treatment which Napoleon experienced in the years 1817 and 1818 is detailed, with much simplicity, in the letters written by Count Bertrand to Count Las Cases.

"Things," said M. Bertrand, "are materially altered since your departure. In the year 1817, and this of 1818, the vexations practised against the emperor are increased to that degree, that they can only be considered as an attempt upon his life. You shall judge of this by the detail. You cannot but have read, in the newspapers of the month of

March, certain observations of Lord Bathurst's; but, since then, things have got much worse, and the hatred of the governor has no longer had any limits.

"When you left us, the emperor gave up riding on horseback, to avoid the snares and the insults prepared for him, by exposing him to the insolence of the sentinels; to avoid similar inconveniences, he has been since obliged to debar himself even from the exercise of walking. During the months of March and April, the emperor occasionally went out to call on my wife, and sometimes, too, he used to seat himself fifty paces from the house, upon the bench near it, where he would remain half an hour or an hour: they devised means to prevent this, and to oblige him to confine himself closely to his room. They were aware that was no difficult task. They appointed a soldier of the 66th for the gardener, and they stationed at my house a sergeant, or overseer of the workmen, both very useful at the house, either to remove any noxious weeds which might infect the air, (for it is an impossibility to have a garden on such a spot as this,) or to repair the house, which is in ruins, and admits the water upon every shower. All this appeared very reasonable; but the governor invested these two soldiers with the power of stopping whomsoever they pleased, at the very doors and under the windows of the emperor. From that moment he has never been out, and it is now upwards of three months since he has put his head out of the windows.

"The climate, an entire deprivation of exercise, and this miserable habitation, have impaired his health so much, that you would not know him

again. Ever since the end of 1817, he has felt the first symptoms of the chronic hepatitis, which, you are aware, is mortal in this country. The good O'Meara attended him, in whom, you know, he had confidence. Sir Hudson Lowe, in the month of April, when this doctor was most necessary to him, reduced him to the necessity of giving in his resignation, and wanted to foist Mr. Baxter upon the emperor, who, refusing to see any other medical attendant, was without a doctor from the 10th of April to the 10th of May. At last, the Russian and Austrian commissioners here, being indignant at this treatment, gave the governor to understand, that, if the emperor should die in that situation, they themselves would be at a loss what to say, if the opinion should prevail in Europe that he had been assassinated. It appears this decided the governor to reinstate Dr. O'Meara; but there was no species of ill-treatment they did not make him suffer. They wanted to get him driven from the table of the officers of the 66th, but these brave soldiers disdained to participate in so arbitrary an act. The emperor is now very ill: he rises at eleven in the morning, and retires again at two. Your are not aware of the situation we are in now; it can in no instance be compared with our situation in your time, and even then it was bad enough; and you sufficiently know our master, to induce you to use your influence to prevent any of the emperor's family from coming out here. The spectacle of the humiliations, the vexations, the hatred he is a prey to, would be utterly insupportable, were his mother, or any of his brothers, to come and share them. Even Count de Montholon and myself, who are now the only persons with

him, have been repeatedly pressed by him to go, and release ourselves from the like treatment, and to leave him to himself. You remember the officers had not visited me for a long time; but, whenever they met us on the road, they had the civility to stop and speak with my wife. They have now been forbidden to do that, not in writing, but by insinuation; so that it has frequently happened that these officers, on perceiving us, have turned out of the way."

The following note was written by Napoleon in the margin of a letter from Sir Thomas Read to Count Bertrand, dated 25th April, 1818:—

"1. I gave you to understand yesterday, when you presented this letter to me, that I would not condescend to notice it; and that you need not translate it to me, since it is not in the form which has been observed for three years.

"2. This fresh outrage only dishonours this coxcomb. The king of England alone is entitled to treat with me upon an equality.

"3. This crafty proceeding has one object—to prevent your exposing the criminal plot they have been contriving against my life for these two years past.

"4. Thus it is, that, affecting to open the doors to claims and complaints, they shut them the closer.

"5. Thus it is, that affecting a willingness to provide me a lodging, and build a house for me, I have been kept for three years in this unhealthy barn, and no building has yet been commenced.

"6. Thus it is, that, affecting to allow me the liberty of riding on horseback, they prevent me from so doing, and from taking exercise, by indirect means: hence the primary cause of my illness.

"7. They employ the same means to debar me from receiving any visits. They have need of obscurity.

"8. Thus it is, that, after having made attempts upon my physician, having forced him to give in his resignation, rather than remain a passive instrument, void of all moral feeling, they nevertheless keep him under arrest at Longwood, wishing it to be believed that I have his assistance, when they well know I cannot see him, that I have not seen him for a fortnight, and that I never shall see him, unless he be set at liberty, relieved from his oppressive situation, and restored to his moral independence in what concerns the exercise of his functions.

"9. Thus it is they are guilty of a characteristic falsehood, in causing bulletins to be issued by a physician who has never seen me, and who is ignorant both of my constitution and my disorder; but that is well calculated to deceive the prince and people of England and Europe.

"10. They indulge in a ferocious smile at the fresh sufferings this deprivation of the assistance of art adds to this tedious agony.

"11. Desire this note to be sent to Lord Liverpool, and also your letter of yesterday, with those of the 13th and 24th of April, that the prince regent may know who my ———— is, and be able to publicly punish him.

"12. If he does not, I bequeath the opprobrium of my death to the reigning house of England.

(Signed)

"NAPOLEON.

"*Longwood, 27th April*, 1818."

CHAPTER XIV.

Dismissal of Count Las Cases from Longwood—Letter to Prince Lucien Bonaparte intercepted by Sir Hudson Lowe—Napoleon's Apprehensions for the Fate of his Manuscripts—his Reflections upon the Governor—Decline of Napoleon's Health—Etiquette observed by his Attendants—Remarks on his bodily Constitution—his Mode of preserving Health—Testimony of Dr. Arnott—Progress of his Disease—his Death—his Interment—Remarks upon his Character.

One of the most mortifying inconveniences, inflicted upon Napoleon by Sir Hudson Lowe, appears to have been the removal of Count Las Cases from the emperor's service at the latter end of the year 1816. Ever since the count had attended him at Longwood, he kept, as a servant, a free mulatto. After some months had elapsed, Sir Hudson Lowe expressed his doubts as to the propriety of the count's being attended by a native of the island, and signified his intention of removing this servant, and sending one of his own choosing: the latter proposal was promptly and decidedly rejected; but the man was withdrawn.

Some months after this, the mulatto, who still remained in the island, found an opportunity of visiting his old master's residence: being favoured by the darkness of the night, and his knowledge of the localities of the island, he had surmounted every obstacle, avoided sentinels, and scaled precipices, to come and see the count, in order to tell him that he had got a situation with a person who was going to set off for London in a few days, and to offer him his services without reserve. Not seeing the count the first time he came, he returned the next

evening, and renewed the unreserved offer of his services, saying he would take charge of any thing that might be intrusted to him, and would call for it on the eve of his sailing. Accordingly, a letter was written upon a piece of satin, to Prince Lucien Bonaparte, which the young mulatto, having some knowledge of the business of a tailor, sewed into his clothes, and took his leave. Las Cases went to bed with a light heart, and a feeling of satisfaction from the contemplation of a day well employed, and marked by a fortunate event, little thinking that he had just cut, with his own hands, the thread of his destiny at Longwood, from which, in less than twenty-four hours, he was snatched away, never to return. The bearer of the letter, it is supposed, confided the affair to his mother, who could not conceal it from her husband, by which publicity it came to the ears of Sir Hudson Lowe, who issued his orders accordingly.

Napoleon was frequently under great apprehensions for the fate of his manuscripts: this was occasioned by the treatment which Las Cases had suffered from Sir Hudson Lowe, and the detention of his own papers. He said "it was contrary to all law, to detain papers belonging to him (Napoleon). Perhaps," said he, "he will come up here some day, and say that he has received intimation that a plot is in agitation to effect my escape. What guarantee have I, that, when I have nearly finished my history, he will not seize the whole of it? It is true that I can keep my manuscripts in my own room, and, with a couple of brace of pistols, I can despatch the first who enters. I must burn the whole of what I have written. It served as an amusement to me in this dismal abode, and might,

perhaps, have been interesting to the world: but with this *Sbirro-Siciliano* there is no guarantee nor security. He violates every law, and tramples decency, politeness, and the common forms of society, under foot. He came up (here to Longwood) with a savage joy beaming from his eyes, because he had an opportunity of insulting and tormenting us. While surrounding the house with his staff, he reminded me of the savages of the South Sea islands dancing round the prisoners whom they were about to devour."

While looking over a number of papers, (chiefly Portsmouth,) "Ah!" said Napoleon, "some of my money has gone to pay for these estates. After the abdication at Fontainebleau, upwards of forty millions of francs, my private property, was seized, and taken from my treasurer at Orleans. Of this money, about five and twenty millions were divided amongst T***, M**, and C**. The money thus seized included the marriage-portion of the empress Marie Louise, which had been paid in sovereigns of gold—an old German coin. The remainder was placed in the French treasury. The whole of these sums had been guaranteed to me by the treaty of Fontainebleau. The share which C** obtained was very large, and the exact amount of it is known to me."

The health of Napoleon, during the six months preceding his establishment at Longwood, did not seem to undergo any change, notwithstanding his regimen was so completely altered. Neither his hours nor his food were any longer the same; his former habits, in fact, were totally deranged. Formerly, he had been used to much exercise; but now, he had been long confined to a room. He

had been continually in the habit of bathing; but for this indulgence he had no opportunity till after his arrival at Longwood. Here, when he began to ride on horseback, and returned to the use of the bath, his attendants first began to perceive a sensible alteration in his health.

In the autumn of 1817, he had a smart attack of fever, &c., and was several days obliged to retire occasionally to his bed. Whilst he was well, the etiquette observed by his attendants prevented any of them from entering his apartment without being sent for; and if any thing of importance was to be communicated to him, he was previously made acquainted with it. If he walked separately with any of them, no other presumed to intrude. At first, his attendants constantly remained uncovered near his person, which appeared strange to the English, who had been ordered to put on their hats after the first salute. The contrast between them seemed ridiculous to Napoleon, and he ordered his servants, once for all, to behave like the English. No one, except the two ladies, took a seat in his presence. He was never spoken to but at his own peculiar instance, and when the conversation became general, which was always and in all cases under his own control and guidance. It is scarcely needful to add, that the long period of his declining health nearly put an end to the ceremonials previously observed.

Upon the score of the emperor's general health, M. Las Cases observes—"Contrary to the common opinion, in which I myself once participated, the emperor is far from possessing a strong constitution. His limbs are large, but his fibres are relaxed; with a very expanded chest, he is constantly labour

ing under the effects of cold. His body is subject to the influence of the slightest accidents. The smell of paint is sufficient to make him ill; certain dishes, or the slightest degree of damp, immediately take a very severe effect upon him. His body is far from being a body of iron, as has been supposed; all his strength is in his mind; although no sovereign ever underwent so much bodily fatigue.

"The most remarkable instance of the emperor's activity and exertion, was his ride, without stirrups, from Valladolid to Burgos, at the rate of more than seven Spanish leagues an hour, in five hours and a half. He had set out accompanied by a numerous escort, in case of danger from the guerillas; but at every yard he left some of his attendants behind him, and arrived at Burgos with but few followers. His ride from Vienna to the Simmering, a distance of eighteen or twenty leagues, is frequently talked of. The emperor rode to breakfast to the Simmering, and returned to Vienna immediately after. He often hunted to the distance of thirty-eight leagues, and never less than fifteen. One day a Russian officer, who had come as a courier from St. Petersburgh in the space of twelve or thirteen days, arrived at Fontainebleau at the moment the emperor was about to set out on a hunt. The officer had the honour to be invited to join the hunting party. He, of course, accepted the invitation; but he dropped down in the forest, overcome by fatigue, and was not found until after a considerable search had been made for him.

"I have known the emperor," continues Las Cases, "to be engaged in business in the council of state for eight or nine hours successively, and

afterwards rise with his ideas as clear as when he sat down. I have seen him, at St. Helena, peruse books for ten or twelve hours in succession, on the most abstruse subjects, without appearing the least fatigued. He has suffered, unmoved, the greatest shocks that ever man experienced. On his return from Moscow or Leipsig, after he had communicated the disastrous event in the council of state, he said, 'It has been reported in Paris, that this misfortune turned my hair gray; but you see it is not so, (pointing to his head,) and I hope I shall be able to support many other reverses.' But these prodigious exertions were made only, as it were, in despite of his physical powers, which never appear less susceptible than when his mind is in full activity.

"The emperor eats very irregularly, but generally very little. He often says, that a man may hurt himself by eating too much, but never by eating too little. He will remain four-and-twenty hours without eating, only to get an appetite for the ensuing day. But, if he eats little, he drinks still less. A single glass of Madeira or Champagne is sufficient to restore his strength, and to produce cheerfulness of spirits. He sleeps very little, and very irregularly, generally rising at day-break to read or write, and afterwards lying down to sleep again. The emperor has no faith in medicine, and never takes any. He had adopted a peculiar mode of treatment for himself. Whenever he found himself unwell, his plan was to run into an extreme, the opposite of what happened to be his habit at the time. This he calls restoring the equilibrium of nature. For instance, if he had been inactive for a length of time, he would suddenly ride about

sixty miles, or hunt the whole day. If, on the contrary, he had been harassed by great fatigues, he would resign himself to absolute rest for twenty-four hours. These unexpected shocks, he thought, infallibly brought about an internal crisis, instantly producing the desired effect, and which as a remedy never failed."

He continues to remark, that "the emperor's lymphatic system was deranged, and that his blood circulated with difficulty. Nature," he says, "had endowed him with two important advantages; the one was the power of sleeping whenever he needed repose, at any hour or at any place; another was, that he was constitutionally incapable of committing any injurious excess, either in eating or in drinking." If he went the least beyond his mark, his stomach instantly revolted. Very slight causes would excite a nausea in him; and a mere tickling cough was sufficient to produce that disagreeable effect.

It appears from the testimony of Surgeon Arnott, of the 20th regiment, that no other English medical person saw him in his death-bed sickness, in April and May, 1821; for, although every medical aid the island of St. Helena afforded was offered by Sir Hudson Lowe, and recommended by Dr. Arnott when he observed the disease to put on alarming symptoms, Napoleon uniformly refused it, and even required from his attendants a promise that, in the event of his ever becoming insensible, no other medical person than Professor Antomarchi and Mr. Arnott should see him.

Before the latter visited Napoleon, he was consulted upon his case, on the 25th of March, 1821, by Professor Antomarchi, who stated, that his illus-

trious patient had long been labouring under some great derangement of function in the digestive organs, characterized by nausea and vomiting, especially after taking food, very obstinate costiveness, and great wasting of flesh and strength. On the 17th of that month, he had a febrile attack; and, though an emetic had been administered, with cathartics and antimonials in small doses, the symptoms, on the 25th, were still urgent, viz. increased heat, great prostration of strength, pain in the epigastric region, most distressing vomiting, and constipated bowels.

On the evening of the 1st of April, at half-past ten o'clock, Professor Antomarchi called on Dr. Arnott, saying he had just come from the emperor, who wished to see him directly. He accordingly accompanied M. Antomarchi, and was led by him through a labyrinth of passages and rooms dimly lighted. When they reached Napoleon's bed-room, there was no light whatever in it; it was perfectly dark. Count Montholon, whose voice was known, met Dr. Arnott at the door, and led him up to Napoleon's bed-side, and introduced him. He inquired into the emperor's complaints, but could not see him, as he would not permit a light to be brought. His pulse being felt by Dr. Arnott, he found it tranquil, heat moderate, and the moisture on the skin rather more than natural. He complained much of his belly, which was examined; but it was without tension or hardness: the bowels were slow, and the appetite bad. His voice was strong, and he had some cough. Several severe fits of vomiting followed, notwithstanding some purgative medicines had occasionally given him much relief. What he vomited on the night of

the 11th of April was a black, mucous matter. After this he became quite exhausted, and signified to Dr. Arnott that medical aid could be of no avail to him, and that he was labouring under a fatal disease. At the doctor's request, he took a little jelly and warm wine, which rested on his stomach. Napoleon asked the doctor, on the same day, how a person died of debility, and how long one could live, eating as little as he did.

In fact, he continued alternately better and worse till the hickuping attacked him at the latter end of April; after this there was an aggravation of all the symptoms. At length, on the 4th of May, there was a total loss of muscular motion; the under jaw had dropped, the eyes were fixed, and the pulse varied from 102 to 110 in the minute, was small and weak, and was easily compressed.

That nothing should be left undone, although the patient was *moribundus*, (dying,) sinapisms were applied to the feet, blisters to the legs, and one to the *sternum*, but none of them took effect; and all the symptoms increased till eleven minutes before six o'clock, in the evening of the 21st of May, 1821, when he expired, in the fifty-second year of his age. His dissolution was so calm and serene, that not a sigh escaped him, nor any intimation to his attendants that it was so near.

The last words he is known to have uttered were "*tete armée.*" What their connexion in his mind was, could not be ascertained; but they were distinctly heard about five o'clock in the morning of the day he died. His countenance after death was described as placid and serene, and as having in it something very commanding and noble.

On opening the body, and exposing the stomach,

that organ was found the seat of extensive disease. Nearly the whole of its internal surface was a mass of cancerous disease, or schirrous portions advancing to cancer. The stomach was found nearly filled with a large quantity of fluid, resembling coffee-grounds, or a black, grumous matter, mixed with some small specks of blood, which he had been in the habit of vomiting. The remainder of the abdominal viscera were in a healthy state.

The proposed conveyance of the remains of Napoleon to Europe was overruled, but they were permitted to rest in a beautiful valley, under the pendent branches of several flourishing weeping willows, near his favourite spring, and not far distant from the place of his residence.

The funeral was attended with as much of "the pomp and circumstance of war," as the place where he died would admit of. His coffin was carried by grenadiers. Counts Montholon and Bertrand were pall-bearers. Madame Bertrand followed with her family. Next came Lady Lowe and her daughters in deep mourning; then the junior officers of the navy, and the army staff. Lastly, Sir Hudson Lowe and the admiral closed the procession The 20th and 66th regiments, with arms reversed, with the artillery, volunteers and marines, amounting to about 3000, were stationed on the surrounding hills, about half way up. The body having been lowered into the grave, three rounds of eleven guns were fired by the artillery.

The grave is ten feet long, ten deep, and five wide. The bottom is a solid rock; the sides and ends are walled in with Portland stone; the top of the grave is elevated about eight inches above the surface of the ground, and covered over with

three rough slate stones, taken from the kitchen floor of the new house, that had been constructed for his residence. The tomb was railed round with green railing, and a sentinel walked round it day and night, to prevent the too near approach of any person. There was no inscription upon the tomb. Persons, however, contrive to pluck the leaves of the willows that grow over it, some of which have been carried to England, and preserved as sacred relics.

The cemetery of Napoleon, it has been observed, is singularly adapted to the character of the individual there buried—a vast rock rising out of the ocean, alone, towering, unshaken, and magnificent; a perfect emblem of the genius of the man, such as he must appear in future history.

Though some attempts at comparison have been made, in order to illustrate the character of Napoleon, yet, upon mature and impartial reflection, we cannot find one in the records of history to whom we can liken him. The greatest resemblances are to be found in the examples of Hannibal and Cæsar. He was as prompt as Hannibal, as decided as Cæsar, and, like the Roman warrior, he has written his own immortal commentaries; and he was as brave and more generous than either. He commenced his military career as a lieutenant of engineers; he reduced the chaos of the French revolution to order, assuaged the bloody fury of the parties in the interior of France, and fought her battles when she was assailed by a combination of kings. He conquered the enemies of his country, and victory succeeded to victory, till he was dignified with the consulate, and left the great Moreau only admiration and applause. Under Na-

poleon, it cannot be denied, the arts flourished, and merit emerged from degradation and obscurity; and he seemed to be one of those men intended by fate to exalt the human character to the highest pitch of grandeur and sublimity. He united in himself all those qualities, which we reverence and admire, even in an enemy. As a soldier and conqueror, he had no equal: Fortune, for a considerable time, continued to shape events to his will; and contradictions the most apparent yielded to his genius; but at last, as if jealous of the way in which he used her favours, she made him feel her power, and hurled him, as it were, from a throne to a prison.

It is not true, that he was devoid of social qualities, or insensible to pleasure; his attendants, and the companions of his captivity, both English and French, were living witnesses of the contrary Numerous anecdotes, that cannot be questioned, exhibit him as capable of the finest and best feelings of human nature, and will remain the most lasting testimonies of his kindness and generosity, especially during the period of his dreadful exile in St. Helena. Never was a master so loved and adored, even by his followers and attendants, whose sufferings, on his account, were nearly equal to his own. Never did any monarch attract so many friends, known and unknown, and who would have willingly shed their blood for his sake.

But his greatness was obscured by his ambition, and his love of absolute power. He owned "he had been the spoiled child of fortune. From his first entrance into life, he had been accustomed to command, and circumstances and the force of his own character were such, that, as soon as he became

possessed of power, he acknowledged no master, and obeyed no laws except those of his own creation."

The love, or rather the necessity of war, was so deeply rooted in the breast of France, when Napoleon came into power, that his first and last attempts were all directed to the perfection and completion of its art. The tactics that he followed were new to Europe, and singularly his own. Despatch, surprise, and promptitude, were their prominent features. Schools were every where formed to train his youth to travail and to labour; to mathematics and to gunnery; schools of swimming, engineering: in fine, schools of every nature that could mould the growing man to arms, to labour and fatigue, were all erected and endowed by him; whilst hospitals were enriched and considerably enlarged, in every department, to aid his sick or disabled warriors. Hence their patience under privations almost unheard of; and hence they frequently died glorying in the wounds inflicted by a valiant or defeated enemy.

After his career of victory, distinctions of rank began to multiply, and scarcely a trace was left of *revolutionary liberty and equality.* The vast fabric which Napoleon had raised, he saw, could only be maintained by success; and that the loss of a single battle might become the signal for revolution, or for deserting him, as the event has proved. Repeated victories, however, could not satisfy his insatiable appetite for glory. He never foresaw any reverses, or, if he did, he never made any provision against them. He depended too much upon his "high destinies" and tributary kings; he expected too much from his newly-created marshals

These kings felt themselves as only instruments in his hands; and the marshals saw no end to his arduous campaigns. Notwithstanding the immense height to which France was raised during his imperial sway, and the rapid succession of his splendid victories, there was at length much disaffection at heart, though latent, and unperceived. The Jacobins, sworn enemies to crowned heads, were always numerous, and many of them powerful. The empress Josephine well knew this, and, by the distribution of 400,000*l.* a year, contributed to keep down the unruly spirits. Her manners conciliated and her bounty relieved; her conduct and her address changed even her husband's enemies into friends. But, from the moment that the empress Marie Louise occupied her place, she ceased in this work of peace, and Napoleon soon found, that, on venturing upon this connexion, he had approached a dangerous precipice, the brink of which had only been concealed by a bed of flowers.

"Cradled in the camp, however, he was, to the last hour, the darling of the army. Of all his soldiers, not one forsook him till affection was useless; and, even then, their first stipulation was for his safety. They knew well, that, if he was lavish of them, he was prodigal of himself; and that, if he exposed them to peril, he repaid them with riches. The victorious veteran glittered with his gains, and the capital of France, gorgeous with the spoils of art, became the miniature metropolis of the universe."

But he is no more; and nothing but a simple stone marks the place that contains all that is earthly of Napoleon Bonaparte. His remains were

not allowed to be transmitted to Europe, as if it had been believed, that

"Even in his ashes glowed their wonted fires."

Table of some of the principal Events in the History of Napoleon, from his Birth to his Decease.

Born	Aug. 15,	1769
Entered the Military School of Brienne		1779
Transferred to the School of Paris		1783
Lieutenant in the first artillery regiment of la Fère	Sept. 1,	1785
Captain	Feb. 6,	1792
Chief of battalion	Oct. 19,	1793
General of brigade	Feb. 6,	1794
General of division	Oct. 16,	1795
General-in-chief of the army of the interior	Oct. 26,	1795
General-in-chief of the army of Italy	Feb. 23,	1796
First consul	Dec. 13,	1799
Consul for life	Aug. 2,	1802
Emperor	May 18,	1804
Crowned	Dec. 2,	1804
Invaded Russia	June 22,	1812
First abdication at Fontainebleau	April 11,	1814
Resumed the reins of government	March 20,	1815
Second abdication at l'Elysée	June 21,	1815
Departed for St. Helena	Aug. 7,	1815
Deceased in that island	May 5,	1821

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